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THE SATIRICON

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JUNE, 1928

The Century College Latin Series
Marbury B. Ogle, Editor

PETRONIUS
THE SATIRICON

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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To

L. S. S.
S. M. S.
R. L. S.

L. E. S.
W. L. S.
E. T. S., Jr.

PREFACE

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in Petronius, among scholars and among laymen alike. With all this activity little heed has been paid to the needs of one important class—undergraduate students. There are satisfactory editions of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, but many of the best passages in Petronius lie outside these limits. I have tried in this edition to provide a sound but readable text (unfortunately the two are not always the same) for the entire *Satiricon* and to annotate those parts which are at once interesting, characteristic, and not too offensive to our moral sensibilities.

The text is in general that of Bücheler and Heraeus, though I have had at hand a considerable quantity of other material not accessible to recent editors. The direct testimony of the MSS is most available in Bücheler's first edition; the sixth edition, revised by Heraeus, is closer to the MSS and takes into account the accumulated knowledge of the intervening sixty years. I have preferred the reading of a good MS to any conjecture, however attractive, and I have resisted as well as I could the temptation to introduce suggestions of my own. I have had no desire to make this a critical edition in any sense.

The Introduction and Notes are frankly experimental. I have had no guide but my own experience in teaching Petronius to undergraduates, though I have been able to submit the text and notes of the *Cena* in their present form to use by others, whose help I gratefully acknowledge. I have explained, I think, all words not found in the smaller Latin dictionaries, with

some others of rare occurrence. I have tried not only to provide the help that undergraduates need, but also to furnish, especially in the Supplementary Notes, the starting points for further investigation. It has been impossible to refer to all theories and suggestions. While I hope I have not been too dogmatic on controversial questions, I have attempted to be sufficiently positive to inspire students with a measure of confidence in my statements. To what extent these aims have been attained, only experience can show, and I shall be grateful for reports and suggestions from users of the book.

I have had at hand most of the sixteenth century editions and commentaries, including those of Singrenius, Sambucus, Tornaesius, and Pithaeus, and the material contained in the variorum editions; the complete Bücheler-Heraeus series; the later editions of Friedländer, Heraeus, Waters, Sedgwick, Ernout, Gurlitt, Baldwin; the Segebade-Lommatzsch Lexicon; the translations of Burnaby, Peck, Lowe, Ryan, Heseltine, Mitchell, Firebaugh; Gaselee's reproduction of the Trau MS; complete photographs of *BPRM,* with Dr. Jones' studies of *BPR;* a partial new collation of *L* and collations of or notes on some of the minor MSS; most or all of the studies of background, style, language, and text; and the unpublished and sometimes incomplete work of various students. Much of this can of course find no place in an edition of this kind. Of recent editions, that of Ernout most nearly resembles this, save for the notes. My conclusions as to the relationships and value of the MSS and as to the text generally were mainly reached before his edition appeared, and great differences will appear on examination.

To express adequately my obligations would be to repeat the bibliography of Petronius, with many additions. I should not omit my graduate students, who partly as patient listeners, partly as co-laborers, have aided during the ten years and more of work that lie behind this book. Of these students, I would mention especially Mr. W. J. Beggs, Mrs. Jean C. Boggs,

Miss Mary G. Dougherty, Miss Elizabeth Wray Klingensmith, Mrs. Mary Dunbar Purdy, Mr. James Stinchcomb, and Miss Dorothy Torreyson. Nor should I forget those undergraduate students who have allowed me and others in my behalf to experiment on them. I wish to acknowledge with the greatest gratitude the aid of Professor Ogle, editor of the series, for unfailingly wise and sympathetic advice and guidance. I am particularly indebted to my colleague and former student, Professor Adalaide R. Jones, of the University of Pittsburgh, who has placed at my disposal her material regarding the MSS, who has used part of the text and notes in mimeographed form, and who has read the entire manuscript and proof and given me the benefit of her counsel.

E. T. S.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION *

Fiction has been defined as a feigned story in prose. This definition excludes, e.g., Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* which are written in verse, and Livy's history, which is written in prose and partly fictitious, but is intended as truth. We may recognize two main types of fiction, novel and romance, though the two shade into one another. The distinction between them is the importance of the plot: in the novel the plot is well defined, and may be more interesting to the author than the characters, while in romance plot is subordinated to characters and incidents, and such unity as the story possesses may be due to the fact that the various incidents are represented as happening to the same persons. The *Satiricon* of Petronius, the earliest existing specimen of fiction in Greece or Rome, is of the latter type.

I. THE SATIRICON AND ITS BACKGROUND

1. The establishment of the Roman Empire was attended by far-reaching political, social, and economic changes. The loss of political liberty and the disenfranchisement of the mass of the people robbed literature of the immediate contact with the world of affairs that had made the literature of the Republic so perfect an expression of the genius of the Roman people in action. As the days of heroic achievement had passed, so the days of great human achievement were gone.

2. The practical disappearance of the old aristocracy in the civil wars and proscriptions which marked the end of the Republic, and the rise of freedmen to positions of political and social importance gave Rome a new social composition. The

* See the Supplementary Notes for more detailed discussions.

first century of the Empire was characterized by the gradual but almost complete replacement of the old Roman and Italian stock by aliens, and a concentration of wealth and power in their hands followed. Even in the time of Augustus the importance of the freedmen was recognized in the establishment of the freedman aristocracy, the *seviri Augustales*. Unused to the Republican traditions of service to the state, subordination of the individual, and a Puritan distrust of the emotions, the new society was better adapted than the old would have been to the new political régime. The power of the new social leaders came from their wealth; the impoverished survivors of the old families scorned yet flattered them; they had no standards except money and no inherited culture to restrain their tendency toward lavish display. The highest compliment they could pay was *de nihilo crevit*.

3. Literature felt the full effect of these changes. Divorced from public life, it lost its reality. Man's energy was turned inward rather than outward, and we have that introspection which is favorable to the development of fiction. Again, with the breaking of contact with active life, content was subordinated to form, and we note the striving for effect which characterizes Seneca, Lucan, Persius, and Statius, as later Juvenal, Martial, and Tacitus. On the other hand, the consciousness that the literature of the Golden Age had reached the loftiest heights that Romans could aspire to led to an imitation of earlier writers, a tendency seen in Quintilian, the younger Pliny, and in the earlier manner of Tacitus. Thus we have a party of innovation and a party of imitation, neither attaining in general to real dignity of thought or style. Both parties produced on a large scale, and in mere bulk the literature of the first imperial century might easily exceed that of the whole Republican period. Yet there was little originality and little creative power. Petronius is one of the few exceptions.

4. These changes were accompanied by the breakdown of the Roman morality and religion. Early Latin writers like Cato

and Ennius had recognized that Roman greatness rested upon their strong moral sense; Polybius had noted their personal honor; Sallust and Livy had looked back upon the good days of the past and regarded them as gone forever, though Augustus with more optimism had tried to restore the ancient customs (*mores*) which had been cause and result alike of the ancient character (*mores*). Poets had already declared their emancipation from the tyranny of morality, and the state had protested, as in the case of Ovid, but ineffectively in general. By the time of Petronius the writer had established almost completely his freedom from moral responsibility. The relations of the sexes, which had been only incidental in most earlier classical literature, and which form the main presupposition of fiction, could now be treated frankly. The old Roman religion too had in large measure passed away. It had proved unable to satisfy the emotional needs of a people engaged for generations in war; it was so tolerant that it had accepted all manner of new gods; and all its divinities had been shown by Greek philosophy to be mere figures of speech. Scepticism and a trust in magic and astrology had come to meet, as far as such things could, the religious needs of Rome. The stern morality of Stoicism began to function in the early Empire, but the great mass of the people could not understand it or profit by it. It should of course be added that all this was true mainly of Rome. In the country districts the morality and religion of the great past survived longer. But Petronius was writing for sophisticated Rome.

5. Perhaps fiction always appears in the history of a literature after all other forms have passed their points of highest development. Conditions in Rome during the first half of the first century A.D. were ready for its appearance. The stage was set, the actors ready to go on, but there was no stage manager to direct the action. Perhaps Petronius saw here an opportunity to create a new form of literature.

6. Literature in the early Empire was partly a protest;

partly an outlet for the energies which could no longer be devoted to the normal Roman pursuit of a public career; partly an escape from the tyranny of an emperor or the pretentiousness of an upstart society; partly a means of entertainment. To Petronius, it must have been mainly the last. Though freedmen and foreigners play leading rôles on his pages, we can not think of him as their mouthpiece or as a sympathetic interpreter to the world of their culture and ideals. He rendered a great service in picturing their life so frankly, but the service is rather to us than to the freedmen themselves, and he could hardly have had any such intention. Nor did any *cacoethes scribendi* possess him. Why he wrote at all, and why he chose to portray the burlesque magnificence of a Trimalchio and the lawless escapades of an Encolpius remain a mystery. His protests against the wrongs done to literary art by her professed disciples, and his other occasional lapses into seriousness play too small a part in his narrative to serve as a motive for the whole. Possibly, as he had displayed his practical capacity in Bithynia and in Rome, he wanted to prove that his indolence was a matter of choice and not of necessity and that he could succeed in anything that he tried, even in literature. Perhaps his purpose was, as is often said, the entertainment of the court, which saw in the life of Petronius' characters a pale reflection of their own activities on a higher social plane.

II. THE ORIGINALITY OF PETRONIUS

7. I have spoken of Petronius as a pioneer in the field of prose fiction. The sands of Egypt or the ruins of Herculaneum may yet yield some romance earlier in date than the time of Petronius, but all works of fiction in either Greek or Latin that are now known are later. Certainly many different forms like the mime, which dealt realistically with the life of the underworld, might have given him suggestions, but as far as our knowledge goes Petronius had no real predecessor. The surviving Greek romances suggest a long past, and it may be mere

accident that the earlier specimens of this type have gone and left no trace. The first Greek work which may be regarded as fiction is the half-biographical, half-romantic *Cyropedia* of Xenophon, and this remained a model for later writers, who, however, gradually transformed the type into a love story. We find this love element already introduced into a quasi-historical narrative preserved in some fragments of Greek papyri which deal with the adventures of Ninus, mythical king of Nineveh. This romance is almost or quite contemporary with Petronius. By the fourth century we find fully developed a form of romance in which a series of improbable adventures is connected by the thread of the love of hero and heroine. One of the most typical of these is the "Story of Leucippe and Clitophon" by Achilles Tatius, written about 400 A.D. Nothing, however, indicates that there was in Petronius' time a fully developed romance of any considerable length, and there is a wide gap between the *Satiricon* and such tales as that of Achilles Tatius—even admitting that there were such at the earlier date. Of the possible sources of Petronius, the most interesting is the Milesian Tale, of which we have at least one specimen (the story of the Widow of Ephesus) in Petronius and several in Apuleius in addition to other evidence. In general, they were short, witty, satirical, often indecent accounts of amatory adventures. Rhetorical exercises relating brief adventures may also have served him. But the step from one or all these brief forms to a long story of adventure, whether serious or otherwise, is one that required ingenuity and courage. It is perhaps not too much to say that in the present state of our knowledge we must credit Petronius with the distinction of having been the first to take this step (but see below), and we must think of him as perhaps the originator of a new literary form. Why the Roman critics did not include prose fiction with satire as a Roman creation we do not know. Perhaps the frivolity of fiction seemed beneath the notice of Roman dignity. Perhaps the Romans thought of fiction, which

may be a reflection on life, as a variety of satire, but there is no evidence that such was the case.*

8. It has been noted that there was much production of fiction after Petronius. The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, especially the Cupid and Psyche story, has been the inspiration of much literature and art. The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri,* written originally in Greek, then translated into Latin and often expanded, is the most important of the later romances. It was much imitated in all the European languages during the middle ages and later and its most important English derivative is Shakespeare's *Pericles*. Whether Petronius exerted a direct or indirect influence upon writers of picaresque novels in England, France, and Spain is debated, but it is probable that such a connection exists. This literary form flourished particularly in Spain, and was the work mainly of men of sound classical training. It is probable enough that they knew

* Some of the stages in the development of fictitious narrative are indicated in their probable chronological sequence:

(a) The serious (heroic) long story of adventure in verse (epic);
(b) The serious (heroic) long story of adventure in prose (may be inferred from Herodotus and Xenophon on the one hand and extant later Greek romances on the other, though the latter may only with reservations be called heroic);
(c) The serious (bourgeois or non-heroic) long story of adventure in prose (may be inferred by analogy from the relation of Euripides to Aeschylus or Menander to Aristophanes);
(d) The non-serious (bourgeois or non-heroic) short story of adventure in prose (Milesian Tales, etc.);
(e) The non-serious (bourgeois or non-heroic) long story of adventure in prose (in treatment the extant Greek romances belong here, though in purpose they belong above);
(f) The parody of the long story of adventure in prose (Petronius).

It should be noted that only types (a) and (d) may be said with certainty to have existed before Petronius. The *Satiricon* has been regarded as a direct parody of (a), but the history of classical literature in general suggests something like the above process of development, and even this assumes great originality on the part of Petronius. His realistic treatment could have come only from (d) of the stages described, but may have been suggested by the mime or in some other way. His debt to the mime was in all probability large.

Petronius, though they do not mention him. The strong resemblance between the subject and style of Petronius and those of the later picaresque novel renders the assumption of literary influence probable. (The question of the relation between Petronius' version of the story of the Widow of Ephesus and later uses of the same story will be considered in the notes to the passage.)

III. THE SATIRICON

9. No title certainly given to the work by Petronius himself has come down to us, possibly because the beginning of the work is lost. Bücheler and Heraeus have given it the title *Satirae* or *Saturae*. The best evidence in the MSS however points toward *Satiricon*, a Greek adjectival form in the genitive plural. I have therefore, with other recent students, reverted to the practice of the sixteenth century editors in adopting the title *Satiricon*.

10. The obvious difference between the "satire" of Petronius and the "satires" of Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal has caused long debate as to the reasons for the choice of this designation, and the question is further complicated by the different kinds of writings called "satires." One reason for the name is undoubtedly the atmosphere of good-natured raillery or parody which pervades the whole work. Another is that one early meaning of *satura* is a medley of prose and verse. This form, particularly the variety known as Menippean Satire, was used by Lucilius, Varro, Seneca, and others, and may be paralleled by the prose prefaces to Martial and by the prologues of comedy. Petronius shifts from one medium to the other with great freedom, just as the comic poet for similar reasons shifts from and to dialogue, monologue, canticum. A third reason is that, since *saturae* included primarily the author's observations of, and reflections on life, Petronius, if he were consciously creating a literary form hitherto unpracticed by the Romans, might prefer to disguise the daring of his

undertaking by using a familiar and vague title. The indefiniteness of *saturae* and the still greater indefiniteness of *Satiricon,* coupled with the mystery of a somewhat strange form, might have appealed to him. The strongest link between the *Satiricon* and the traditional satires lies in the fact that Petronius, like Lucilius and Horace at least, has treated a banquet. Petronius' dinner is more elaborate and occupies a relatively larger place than does, e.g., the banquet of Nasidienus in Horace (*Ser.* II: 8), but this may be explained by the prose form, the imperfect preservation of the *Satiricon,* or otherwise.

11. An outline of the adventures related in the *Satiricon* immediately precedes the text.

12. It is impossible to localize the story with accuracy. The home of Trimalchio is in the neighborhood of Naples, and most of the other episodes take place in the same region. Nor can the time be fixed. The conditions which Petronius describes and suggests are those of the reigns of Caligula and Nero, and greater precision would detract from our enjoyment of the story. The most definite indication of time is the reference to Lucan. This is sufficient, though there is confirmatory evidence, to enable us to assign the composition of the work to the time of Nero. Probably the author would not want us to fix too exactly a place or date: his narrative is one of conditions and of typical rather than actual personages.

IV. THE STYLE OF THE SATIRICON

13. I have already suggested that Petronius is a creative artist, who, taking as his starting point the new social organization, and finding in none of the developed literary forms a suitable medium, makes for himself a new one, compounded no doubt of earlier types but infused with a new spirit. The literature of the early Empire, as has been already said, is partly imitative, partly distinguished by striving for effect. Petronius can deal in epigrams when he will, and he can on occasion out-Lucan Lucan in gorgeous rhetoric. He quotes, imitates, and

admires Virgil and Horace; he applies to the latter's art the briefest and most pregnant phrase in Roman literary criticism when he speaks of *Horatii curiosa felicitas*. Of his narrative style, we need only say that at its best it matches the simplicity and directness of Caesar and Catullus. Landor regarded *nunc etiam languori tuo gratias ago* (129:4) as the most beautiful sentence in the Latin language. Yet in his reports of the conversation of the uneducated and sometimes illiterate freedmen at Trimalchio's table, he strikes a new note in Latin literature by reproducing with substantial exactness their mistakes and mannerisms. He even distinguishes the speech of Trimalchio drunk from that of Trimalchio sober. He is perhaps the first Latin writer to use dialect on a large scale. The most striking quality of his style is its realism. Even in such a flight of fancy as the description of Circe (126:13-17), he supplies a precision of detail which makes a vivid picture, and truthful and lifelike representation was his goal.

14. Inferences as to his literary doctrine may be drawn from several passages in the *Satiricon*. Few writers are so impersonal, but his analyses of the decline of oratory and of painting and his theory of epic poetry are so consistent that it is tempting to think of them as Petronius' personal views, though expressed by characters so different as Encolpius, Agamemnon, and Eumolpus. The first cause of the decay of oratory is the decay of morals, and we think of Cato's definition of an orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. The unwillingness of students to follow the toilsome path and to saturate themselves with the works of the great masters of the past, their impatience of severe criticism, and the general loss of interest in good taste are the causes to which he attributes the decline. It has been shown that the literary conservatives of the early Empire—and clearly Petronius is one of them—were the descendants of the Atticists of Cicero's time. Their standard was simplicity, directness, the avoidance of the bizarre, the striking, and the exaggerated. Though Petronius is, as I have said, an innovator

in making literary use of the informal language, he is in his literary theory conservative and classic.

15. Such is the point of view from which he assails Lucan. There can be little doubt that while Lucan is not mentioned by name he is in Petronius' mind. In Chapter 118 Eumolpus takes advantage of an overland journey on foot to discourse on the art of poetry. He singles out for special comment an epic on the civil war. He criticizes first the choice of subject, for history is not a proper theme for epic. Inconvenient facts prevent the poet from using interventions of gods and the imaginative treatment which should characterize poetry. The epic poet, too, like all poets, should have subjected himself to the severe discipline of study and imitation. Lucan may be judged to have offended against all these laws. His imagination he used all too well, but not in the Homeric or Virgilian manner. For all his store of superficial knowledge, he is not *plenus litteris* in the Petronian sense. Worst of all, though Petronius does not say so explicitly, he had abandoned the mythological and imaginative epic tradition for the historical. (A more detailed discussion is given in the notes.)

16. This statement of principles is followed by an impromptu miniature epic on the same theme, and containing both imitation and parody of Lucan. Consequently its purpose has been much debated. It seems to have about it the air of tolerant satire which marks the whole work, and parts of it outdo Lucan in brilliant rhetoric. Yet in it are passages of genuine poetic power. Its small size destroys its balance and proportion, and leaves us in doubt whether there was ever more or whether Petronius grew tired of it and left it as it is, content with having shown that he could have written epic had he cared to do so. Its purpose then must remain in doubt. That the poem and its introduction mingle serious criticism and the exaggerated imitation that amounts to parody seems clear. Aristophanes did the same thing in his comparison of Aeschylus and Euripides,

and Le Sage adopted a similar point of view in his novel *Gil Blas*.

17. A still smaller epic on the Fall of Troy is also found in the *Satiricon*. It has been thought by some to be a parody of Nero, but we know too little of the emperor's poetry to decide. It is rather in the Virgilian manner, but the use of iambic rather than dactylic verse and Petronius' respect and admiration for Virgil forbid us to regard it as a parody of Virgil (see the notes).

18. In a single isolated passage one is tempted to see Petronius' defence (132: 15). It accords so perfectly with the literary principles of the author, as one infers them from the *Satiricon* itself, that it seems a personal opinion. Petronius seems to have believed that art has no concern with morality, and that the artist's task is merely to report what he sees, with no responsibility for his characters' behavior or its possible effects upon his readers. He does not trouble himself, as poets from Catullus to Bliss Carman have done, to add: "My unerratic life denies my too erotic verses." Such an act of self-justification would have been inconsistent with Petronius' character.

19. What has been said of the language and style of the *Satiricon* as a whole applies to the narrative parts of the *Cena Trimalchionis*. Here as elsewhere Encolpius is the spokesman, and the same clearness and appropriateness mark him. It is in the conversations of the freedmen that Petronius deliberately varies from his own standards of style. The characteristics of this freedman speech will be discussed in the Second Appendix to this Introduction and in the notes.

V. PETRONIUS

20. The scanty information that we have regarding Petronius is derived mainly from Tacitus (*Ann.* XVI: 17-20). We learn that he made a reputation for himself by conspicuous indolence

and as a connoisseur of all forms of luxury. Yet he showed himself practically capable as proconsul and later as consul. He became an intimate of Nero who chose him as his *arbiter elegantiae* and deferred to his judgment in all matters of taste. His high position roused the jealousy of Tigellinus, who accused him of complicity in the plot of Scaevinus. Nero ordered him to commit suicide. Petronius opened his veins, disdaining the customary parade of philosophical highmindedness, bound up his wounds as he was entertained and opened them again as he was bored by the conversation about him. Nor did he stoop to the usual adulation of Nero and his court in his will, but employed his last hours in writing the chronicle of Nero's scandalous escapades and sent it to the emperor as his dying gift. It is true that there is no mention here of any literary activity, but neither is there such in the account of the death of Seneca (*Ann.* XV: 60), and properly, since such a recital would have marred the artistic unity of the descriptions of their conduct in the face of death. We know no other Petronius in the early Empire who could have written the *Satiricon,* and to that period the novel must be assigned. There is too the coincidence of names. Some of the MSS call the author Petronius Arbiter, and writers like Macrobius (*in somn. Scip.* 1: 2.8) call him simply Arbiter. This cognomen may be derived from his unofficial title of *arbiter elegantiae,* or the title may be a punning elaboration of a name already belonging to him. A stronger argument is found in the resemblance of character between the Petronius of Tacitus and the author of the *Satiricon.* Tacitus portrays a character whose keynote is the successful striving for an effortless efficiency within the bounds of good taste. The *Satiricon* is precisely the kind of work we should expect if the Petronius of Tacitus turned his hand to literature—urbane, sophisticated, cynical in temper; natural, polished, restrained in style: the work of a thorough man of the world. That it should be devoid of moral sense is also natural, yet the author is so untouched by the experiences of

his characters that critics are fond of such terms as his "serene unmorality" and *impuritas purissima.*

21. Attempts have been made to prove that the document sent to Nero was the *Satiricon,* but the argument refutes itself. Efforts to find caricatures of Nero and other historical personages in the story have likewise and properly proved unavailing.

22. We need not then hesitate to identify the *Satiricon* as the work of the Petronius of Tacitus. That he was a Gaul is an attractive but unproved hypothesis. Certainly he displays a quality of mind and style much desired by modern French realists.

23. Such is the little that we really know about Petronius. We have one certain date, that of his death in 66 A.D. After a public career not without distinction, he became Nero's guide and mentor in matters of good taste. Gentleman to his finger tips, he was so far superior to Nero in his later days that Tigellinus prompted the emperor to revolt against him. Petronius died as the French aristocrats of the Revolution died, too far above his enemies to flatter or revile them. Instead he chose a surer revenge in one final blow to Nero's vanity, and with Petronius' gift for effective speech in mind we can imagine the effect on Nero of that death-bed message.*

VI. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

24. There is some evidence that we now possess part of Book XIV and Books XV and XVI virtually complete, though with many small lacunae and some signs of abbreviation. Since the beginning and end are lost and since long works were frequently arranged in multiples of ten books, it is plausibly conjectured that the *Satiricon* consisted originally of twenty books. There is no sign that the *Satiricon* was ever

* There is little historical foundation for most of the events related in *Quo Vadis,* but spiritually the picture of Petronius is not too inaccurate. Farrar's *Darkness and Dawn* is more faithful to the known facts.

systematically epitomized as was the text of Livy. There are indications of the deliberate extraction of parts of the text: the *Cena Trimalchionis* was thus preserved, and shorter episodes like the Civil War were preserved independently as well as in more complete MSS. Yet the losses seem due to accident rather than design, and the length and the rambling character of the narrative are mainly responsible. The MSS show various stages in the abbreviation of the story without revealing also the order in which the losses occurred, but most of the losses were probably suffered before the ninth century.

25. The oldest known MS, of the ninth century, belongs to Family II (see paragraph 28 below). About the twelfth century there was a revival of interest in Petronius, especially in France, but only John of Salisbury displays any acquaintance with the *Cena*. The makers of the florilegia used Petronius about the same time. Early in the fifteenth century Poggio found a MS of Petronius in Britain and another in Germany in 1423. (It may be mere coincidence that the one surviving MS of the *Cena* is dated 1423.) This MS soon disappeared, and until 1565 only scattered fragments of the *Satiricon* were known. In that year, Sambucus, a Hungarian physician, published an edition based on a MS of group Z (see paragraph 30 below), adding new material and correcting many errors. During the next ten years a new MS (or more than one) of Family I (see paragraph 28 below) came to light, and this (or these) furnished the basis for new editions. Even these contained little of the *Cena*. There is no hint that the genuineness of these fragments was ever questioned, and if it had been an affirmative decision would have been easy.

26. This was not true when the *Cena* was discovered in Dalmatia about 1650. The peculiar Latinity of the *Cena* and the imperfect character of the first edition provoked a spirited controversy, which ended with the acceptance of the new text as genuine. The interest thus aroused, and the possibility of further additions suggested the pretended discovery of Nodot

in 1693. This French soldier of fortune, a man of some scholarship, claimed to have found in Belgrade in 1688 a more complete MS, which he published with the punning comment *Nodi solvuntur a Nodo*. The language however was clearly not Petronian; Nodot refused to exhibit his MS; the so-called complete text was still far smaller than the original must have been. It was, then, easy to pronounce his work a forgery.

27. In 1800, a Spaniard, Marchena, published a small fragment which filled a gap in Chapter 26. After scholars generally had accepted it, Marchena announced that it was his own composition. Since then no additions to the text have been made, though the frequent discovery of new florilegia holds out the hope that the libraries of Europe may still contain MSS of Petronius that are now unknown. The renewal of systematic excavation at Herculaneum may add to our knowledge of Petronius.

First Appendix—MSS and Editions

28. I have used Bücheler's symbols, L, O, and H in the inner margins of the pages to designate the contents of what I have called Families I, II, and III respectively. A glance at these symbols will reveal the fact that Family I is more complete than the others, but has only small portions of the *Cena*, and that Family II is less complete than Family I and has still less of the *Cena*, which is found complete only in Family III. To these I have added for convenience two others (not designated by symbols), Family IV, florilegia, and Family V, MSS containing only short sections of the text. This classification is on the basis of contents alone: a classification based on internal evidence would show slightly different results, especially in Family II.

29. Family I consists entirely of editions based on MSS now lost, although one of these (L; Leidensis Scal. 61, saec. 16) is in MS form. The editions of Tornaesius (t) and Pithoeus (p), printed in 1575 and 1577 respectively, are given, on the ex-

ample of Bücheler, the authority of MSS. No comprehensive study of their sources or relationships, or of the mass of citations from real or imaginary MSS found in the work of other sixteenth century scholars, has been made, but p appears to be more trustworthy than the others.

30. Family II is divided into two groups on the basis of readings. These I have designated Y and Z. The former contains the oldest and best MSS: B (Bernensis 357, saec. 9, with which must be included four pages torn out of B by accident and now bound with a volume of Plautus in Leyden, Leidensis 30), P (Parisinus 8049, saec. 11-12), and R (Parisinus 6842D, saec. 11). Of these B is clearly the most valuable in age and quality. Unfortunately, even after the recovery of four pages, the MS still lacks four pages. In the resemblance of R to B, we find a very satisfactory substitute for the missing pages, as well as confirmation for the readings of B elsewhere. The value of P is somewhat less than that of R. With the exception of a MS formerly at Messina but now lost, of which we have only an imperfect collation, and which was assigned to the twelfth century, all the MSS of group Z belong to the fifteenth century. Their text presents some notable differences from that of group Y, having been both "improved" and corrupted after the fashion of MSS of that period.

31. Family III consists of a single MS (H; Parisinus 7989, saec. 15). Its history has been briefly discussed above (paragraph 25). It is by no means a satisfactory basis for the text, but it is all that we have. This MS contains also in an artificial union with the *Cena* the fragments found in other Family II MSS; it belongs to group Z.

32. Recent interest in the florilegia has led to an increase in the number of known MSS of this type which contain passages from Petronius. The readings of only one of these (N; Parisinus 17903, saec. 13) are fully known, and these reports are not free from errors. There are indications that these MSS have considerable critical value.

33. The MSS of Family V contain only single units of text of greater length than those found in the florilegia. Their critical value has probably been underestimated.

34. The textual criticism of Petronius presents some difficult problems. There are relatively few MSS of common content, and the style and language of a large part of the text are almost unique in Latin literature. This part of the text is preserved in a single MS. This situation has encouraged the publication of conjectures, and our ever increasing knowledge of the informal Latin has made genuine contributions to the restoration of true readings. On the other hand, we have two good authorities, B and R, for the O portion of the text, and these fortunately agree in the main.

35. While I have tried to take into account the attempts of scholars of all periods to improve the text, I have preferred to retain the reading of a good MS to any conjecture, however attractive. The systematic discussion of the details of criticism is neither necessary nor desirable in a text of this kind. The bases of my text are BR for the O portion (R mainly for the parts omitted in B); p for the L portion and those parts of the *Cena* found therein; H for the major part of the *Cena*. I have occasionally and with some hesitation preferred readings from Families IV and V. I have been sparing in admitting conjectures of my own, though I have occasionally restored what seem certain readings of older MSS.

36. The first edition of Petronius was published in 1476, with the *Agricola* of Tacitus and certain panegyrics. It contained only fragments. The editions of Sambucus, Tornaesius, and Pithoeus have been mentioned above. These, with numerous other commentaries, formed the basis for the variorum editions, the last being the second Burmann edition of 1743. The first scientific approach to the text was made by Bücheler in preparation for his edition of 1862, and the MSS were at the same time independently studied by Beck. The disagreements of these two workers, neither of whom knew

apparently of the activity of the other, are partly ludicrous, partly irritating. Bücheler's text has been the foundation of all later work, the most nearly independent edition being that of Ernout. Naturally, the *Cena* has received special attention, and the editions of Friedländer are of fundamental importance. The *Cena* has been several times edited with English notes.

37. Translations have multiplied recently. The copious notes of Mitchell supply in a way the place of a complete edition in English.

Second Appendix—Informal Latin

38. Every language has at least two main styles: a formal—mainly written—and an informal—mainly oral—style. (I prefer the term *informal* to the conventional *colloquial, popular, vulgar,* or *plebeian* as being more inclusive and offering a better antithesis to the *formal* written language. These terms are however used indiscriminately in the notes, though strictly not synonymous.) Most individuals will offer the same contrast. Each of these styles has many varieties within it. The conversation of Caesar, of one of his soldiers, and of an Italian peasant would all be informal but would be different. The language of the same person would differ at different times, with varying occupations and experiences.

39. Yet there is a unifying influence operating on all these varieties of the informal language. As we write, secluded in our studies and remote from the emotional distractions of the events we are describing, we have more time and inclination for reflection and we speak with less passion. Psychologists then speak of the formal style as intellectual, of the informal as affective, not that any one sentence is either purely intellectual or purely affective, but that one or the other element predominates. The writings of Cicero offer excellent illustrations: his rhetorical and philosophical works are mainly intellectual, though now and then his memory will bring back an

experience with such vividness that his emotion will master him for a moment; his letters are usually written soon after the events which they relate, and the emotional reactions obscure the intellectual. Thus his rhetorical and philosophical works are formal (intellectual), his letters informal (affective). We should expect his orations to be affective also, but he rewrote them for publication and they are in consequence mainly of the formal type. The affective language is the language of everyday life and conversation. It is marked by the free use of interjections, of figurative expressions, of ellipses, of real or dramatic interchanges of speakers, of repetitions, pleonasms, and other devices for securing emphasis. All these we shall find in the *Cena*.

40. The recognition of such a difference implies a certain development of literary art. We can see in the history of the Latin language and literature a time when the written and spoken languages were similar if not identical, e.g., in the case of the elder Cato. The speech was at once intellectual and affective; clear, logical, vivid, rich in metaphors drawn from the Roman's limited experience. The language and the people were alike deficient in the imaginative power of the Greek, and literature—defined for the moment as written artistic expression—was a luxury for which the Roman felt little need. As Rome grew in power and wealth and began to have leisure, a literature was desirable and a model was at hand in Greek. Rome imbated the form, and, to a degree, the content and spirit of Greek literature, and the conscious divergence of the formal from the informal Latin began when Rome began to imitate Greek. This process continued until Rome reached her greatest heights in artistic expression in the Golden Age. As the impulse toward literary art waned, the gap between the two styles became narrower. I have spoken deliberately of the divergence of the formal from the informal Latin, for the informal was the more conservative and suffered less change. It is therefore only partly correct to speak of writers like Fronto as archa-

izers: they did deliberately imitate older writers like Cato, but the natural tendency of the language was drawing them closer to Cato's standard without any imitation.

41. We have in the *Satiricon* two distinct manners, though Petronius' sympathy with simplicity and directness often causes informal phraseology and constructions to invade the formal portions of the story. The narrative parts generally are formal, and the language of Encolpius, while easy and natural, is of the literary type. The conversational style of Encolpius, Ascyltos, Giton, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Eumolpus, Lichas, Tryphaena, Circe, and Oenothea is literary and formal. The talk of Trimalchio and his freedman friends is informal in different degrees. They are uneducated foreigners, and they speak a Latin which they know to be imperfect. They are both naïve and self-conscious in the presence of the educated strangers; perhaps they put on some linguistic airs because of the presence of them. Habinnas, the last arrival, who has no time to become abashed and who is not a sufferer from self-consciousness, speaks in some ways the most vulgar Latin of them all. These freedmen are fond of proverbs, puns, riddles, fine phrases, big words, and attempts at wit and epigrams. Their sentences are often ungrammatical, loosely constructed because imperfectly thought out, and sometimes obscure. No marshaling of facts about their language can reveal its homely vividness. Petronius has individualized each speaker yet left the language typical of their class. We have no record of the spoken language of any segment of the Roman people comparable to this.

42. Petronius has avoided some of the most striking illiteracies of the informal Latin as we see it, e.g., in the Pompeian inscriptions. The analysis that follows is intended merely to illustrate some of the most common features of the speeches of the freedmen in the *Satiricon,* not as a summary of the differences between the formal and the informal Latin in general. In many cases several causes have operated to

produce a given result. The facts listed below are arranged in a fashion based on convenience rather than logic.

A. Pronunciation:

1. Omission of final *s* and *m*. This may help to account for some shifts of gender (cf. B 1), since *caelus* and *caelum* were similarly pronounced.

(Examples do not appear in written form, but the phenomenon should be noted here for completeness.)

2. Syncope (the omission of a vowel in an unaccented syllable): *caldam*, 65:7; *calfecit*, 41:11, with which cf. *calefacti*, 28:1; bublum, 44:11, with which cf. *bubulae*, 35:3.

(The Romance derivatives come in general from these popular syncopated forms, e.g., Ital. *caldo*<*cal(i)dum*; Fren. *oeil*<*oc(u)lum*, with which cf. *oclopetam*, 35:4.)

3. Epenthesis (the opposite of syncope: cf. Eng. athaletic): *fericulus*, 39:4, with which cf. *ferculum*, 39:1.

(Since these forms were usually again syncopated, they have left little trace in the Romance languages.)

B. Inflection:

1. Shifts in gender, due in part to pronunciation (cf. A 1), in part to the habit of personifying inanimate objects:

a. From neuter to masculine: *caelus*, 39:5; *amphitheater*, 45:6.

(The disappearance of the neuter gender from the Romance languages is due to this intrusion of the informal masculine upon the formal neuter.)

b. From masculine to neuter: *libra*, 46:7; *thesaurum*, 46:8.

c. From neuter to feminine, especially in Greek words: *stigmam*, 45:9.

(A special feature of this shift was the tendency to regard neuter plural collective nouns as feminine singulars: thus *gaudia*>Fren. *joie*.)

d. From feminine to neuter: *quisquília*, 75:8.

2. Shifts in declension, including transfers from one declension to another, changes of stem, use of analogical case forms: *lacte*, 38:1; *vasum*, 51:3; *vasus*, 57:8; *bovis*, 62:13.

(While not certainly illustrated in the *Satiricon*, this resulted in the practical disappearance of the fourth and fifth declensions, which were absorbed by the second and third, respectively.)

3. Confusion in conjugation:

a. Use of regular for deponent: *loquere*, 46:1.

b. Use of deponent for regular: *pudeatur*, 47:4.

4. Changes in method of forming verbs: *fefellitus sum*, 61:8; *faciatur*, 71:10.

C. Syntax:

1. Noun (changes in case constructions): *te persuadeam*, 46:2; *Africam ire*, 48:3; *fui in funus*, 42:2; *voca in medio*, 49:4; *Capuae exierat*, 62:1; *foras cenat*, 30:3.

2. Verb:

a. New method of expressing indirect statements: *subolfacio quia daturus est*, 45:10.

b. Substitutes for the future: *habituri sumus*, 45:4; *ponitis*, 27:4; *debet esse*, 33:8.

(The future thus tended to disappear from informal Latin and so from the Romance languages, its place in both being filled mainly by the use of auxiliaries. While not certainly illustrated in the *Satiricon*, the most important of these was *habere*. This gradually coalesced with the preceding infinitive and was reduced to a personal ending.)

c. Extended uses of *esse* and *facere*: *omnia ad se fecerunt*, 38:10; *pessime mihi erat*, 54:3.

d. Use of historical infinitive: *anima in naso esse*, 62:5.

e. Parataxis: *serva me, servabo te*, 44:3; *puto interfuisti*, 77:1.

D. Word formation:

1. Use of compounded and recompounded verbs, of intensive, inceptive, frequentative and desiderative verbs and their equivalents, often with little more than the force of the simple verb: *recorrexit*, 43:4; *redimus iterum*, 63:8; *adcognosco*, 69:2; *solebas canturire*, 64:2; *versas*, 41:10.

2. Use of comparative and superlative adjectives with diminished or absolute force: *meliusculae*, 38:3; *pulcherrimum bacciballum*, 61:6.

3. Use of diminutives, sometimes with no diminutive force: *glebulas*, 57:6; *meliusculae*, 38:3 (dimin. of compar.: cf. D2); *valde audaculum*, 63:5 (dimin. with strengthening adverb).

4. Use of derivatives and compounds of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and participles, often with unusual forces or simply to make longer words:

a. Nouns in *-monium*: *tristimonio*, 63:4.

b. Adjectives in *-ax*: *nugax*, 52:4; *-arius*: *sestertiarius*, 45:8; *-osus*: *dignitosso*, 57:10 (perhaps a comic coinage in imitation of the Greek); *-ivus*: *absentivus*, 33:1; *-bundus*: *cantabundus*, 62:4; *-icius*: *lanisticia*, 45:4.

c. Adverbs in *-im*: *urceatim*, 44:18; *-iter*: *suaviter*, 59:1.

d. Participles in *-atus*: *bonatus*, 74:16.

5. Free coinage of compounds of all kinds: *plussciae*, 63:9; *fulcipedia*, 75:6; *nesapium*, 50:5; *lupatria*, 37:7 (Greek suffix added to Latin root).

E. Style:

1. Use of exclamatory expressions: *eheu*, 34:10; *au*, 67:13; *io Saturnalia*, 58:2; *vide modo*, 51:5; *quomodo siccitas perseverat*, 44:2.

2. Use of interrogative expressions: *quid boni fecit*, 45:11.

3. Use of epithets and equivalents: *canis*, 74:9; *lorus in aqua*, 57:8; *codex, non mulier*, 74:13 (a common type: cf. E 6 e and h); *fugae merae*, 45:13.

4. Use of euphemisms: *dominam suam delectaretur*, 45:7.

5. Use of formulae and crystallized expressions: *quid dicis*, 71:5; *longe a nobis*, 74:3; *ad summam*, 31:2.

6. Use of devices for securing emphasis.

a. Repetition: *cave cave*, 29:1; *voca voca*, 49:4; *cocococo*, 59:2; *olim oliorum*, 43:8 (often incorrectly explained as a Hebraism).

b. Unnecessarily strong expressions: *belle recorrexit*, 51:5; *desperatum valde*, 68:7; *plane studiosus*, 52:1.

c. Anaphora: *omnia pecora—misit*, 62:11.

d. Emphatic negations and the equivalents: *homo duponduarius*, 58:5; *pili facit*, 44:17; *qui non valet lotium suum*, 57:3; *neminem nihil boni facere*, 42:7.

e. Pleonasms and the equivalent: *mulier quae mulier*, 42:7.

f. Litotes: *non vult sibi male*, 38:10; *non minimum edi*, 66:3.

g. Concrete expressions: *subolfacio*, 45:10; *vita truditur*, 45:2; *me facias ringentem*, 75:6; *rostrum*, 75:10.

h. Metaphors: *vita vinum est*, 34:7; *piper, non homo*, 44:6 (cf. E 3).

Less common features of the informal style are noticed in the Notes.

43. In addition to the phenomena listed above, there should be described certain mannerisms and tricks of speech which are characteristic of this freedman Latinity, but which elude classification in the manner used above. Among these is the use of proverbs and bits of popular philosophy, such as *ubique medius caelus est*, 45: 3. Another is their fondness for prayers, complete or partially implied, as in *ita bene moriar*, 58: 12, and the similar curses, as *Athana tibi irata sit*, 58: 7. Gram-

matically, these are often paratactic in construction, or exhibit the non-insertion of the conjunction common in early and popular Latin: e.g., *suadeo concoquas,* 75:6; *curabo plores,* 75:9. Another device for adding vividness is the tendency toward the use of comparisons like *fantasia, non homo,* 38:15, usually involving a metaphor (cf. paragraph 42.E.6.h). The vagueness of the freedmen in the matter of pronouns is commented on in the notes, as well as their habit of using personal pronouns when the classical Latin would not find them necessary. A special feature of this is the use of the possessive in referring to one's spouse. Trimalchio speaks of *Fortunata mea* regularly except during their quarrel—an indication of the seriousness of his displeasure and a good example consequently of Petronius' subtlety; Niceros calls his sweetheart *Melissa mea* in 62:11; Habinnas uses the term *domina mea* in 66:5 and Scintilla returns the compliment with *dominus meus* in 67:9. From such cases the usage spread to other and less personal relations: cf. *miles meus,* 62:13; *baro noster,* 63:7. (This habit is sufficient reason to return *suam* in the position in which it is found in H in 52:11.) On the other hand, the relative pronoun, especially in its forward-moving use, is comparatively rare: the tendency toward parataxis replaces it with personal and demonstrative pronouns. A special use, common in comedy and in the colloquial language generally, is that of phrases like *habet unde,* 45:6: cf. *sumeret alicunde,* Ter. *Phorm.* 299-300. An additional feature of the plebeian Latin that deserves notice is the use of *enim* and *nam* with something less than their usual causative force, though many cases are on the border line between cause and mere emphasis. Fairly clear examples of the original asseverative force are the following: *quid enim futurum est,* 44:16; *nam illi domesticus sum,* 45:5.

Synopsis of the Satiricon

There is some indication (frags. I, IIII) that the action of some missing portion of the story was at Marseilles. The scenes of the extant parts of the narrative are, first, some Greek town near the bay of Naples, and, second, Crotona.

The form of the *Satiricon* is autobiographical. Encolpius relates the experiences which befall him and his companions, chiefly Giton, Ascyltos and Eumolpus.

Chs. 1-5. A debate between Encolpius and Agamemnon on the decline of eloquence.

Chs. 6-11. A quarrel between Encolpius and Ascyltos for the favor of Giton.

Chs. 12-15. The recovery of a lost treasure.

Chs. 16-26. Atonement for a violation of the secrecy of the worship of Priapus.

Chs. 26-79. The banquet of Trimalchio:

- Chs. 26-31. The bath and the beginning of the banquet.
- Chs. 31-36. The gustatio.
- Chs. 37-41. The guests; an astrological lecture.
- Chs. 41-46. General conversation.
- Chs. 47-52. The cena; Trimalchio gives judgment on the arts and sciences.
- Ch. 53. The newspaper is read.
- Chs. 54-56. An accident gives rise to an epigram and a literary discussion.
- Chs. 56-60. A distribution of favors provokes a quarrel.
- Chs. 61-64. Ghost stories and other entertainment.
- Chs. 65-69. The entrance of Habinnas; more food; Fortunata.
- Ch. 70. The slaves come to the feast.
- Ch. 71. Directions for Trimalchio's tomb.
- Chs. 72-73. A new start with another bath.
- Chs. 74-79. A quarrel; an autobiography; a rehearsal of a funeral; the escape of the companions.

Chs. 79-82. Renewal of the quarrel of Encolpius and Ascyltos over Giton; an attempt at revenge thwarted.

Chs. 83-87. The picture gallery and the entrance of Eumolpus.

Ch. 88. The decline of painting.

Ch. 89. The Troiae Halosis.

Chs. 90-99. The recovery of Giton; his attraction for Eumolpus;

Ascyltos' attempt to find Giton; quarrel and reconciliation of Encolpius and Eumolpus.

Chs. 100-106. Departure of the companions on the ship of an old enemy, Lichas; disguise and discovery of Encolpius and Giton.

Chs. 107-110. A battle and its consequences.

Chs. 111-113. The Widow of Ephesus.

Chs. 114-117. The shipwreck.

Chs. 118-124. A theory of epic poetry; the Bellum Civile.

Chs. 124-125. The captatores of Crotona.

Chs. 126-134. The love of Polyaenos and Circe.

Chs. 134-139. The purification of Encolpius; the battle with the sacred geese.

Ch. 140. The story of Philomela.

Ch. 141. The will of Eumolpus.

The completeness of the detachment of episode from episode is seen when we recall that although we have only a small fraction of the original *Satiricon,* including neither the beginning nor the end, we are rarely seriously at a loss to understand the portions that we do possess. Almost the only lost incident that seriously interferes with our understanding is the earlier relation with Lichas and Tryphaena, and even this can in a general way be easily reconstructed.

A kind of unity is given to the narrative if we accept the theory of Klebs (*Phil.* XLVII: 623ff.), that the efficient motive of the *Satiricon* is the wrath of Priapus, which pursues Encolpius from adventure to adventure, though we are permitted to see neither the cause nor the conclusion. This would make of the *Satiricon* a kind of parody of epic, in which divine vengeance follows the hero until a reconciliation is in some way effected. Too small a portion of the original survives to permit absolute assurance, but this theory, which is generally accepted, furnishes a thread, however slight, to bind together the separate incidents.

The parts of the text which are annotated in this edition are as follows:

Chs. 1-5 incl.

Chs. 12-15 incl.

Chs. 26:7-79:4 incl.
Ch. 82:1-4 incl.
Ch. 83.
Ch. 88.
Ch. 89.
Chs. 93:3-99 incl.
Chs. 100-112 incl.
Chs. 114-117 incl.
Ch. 118.
Ch. 119-124:1 incl.
Ch. 132:15.
Chs. 136:4-137:9 incl.
Ch. 141.

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PETRONII ARBITRI SATIRICON

PETRONII ARBITRI SATIRICON

THE DECLINE OF ORATORY

LO "Num alio genere furiarum declamatores inquietantur, 1
qui clamant, 'haec vulnera pro libertate publica excepi,
hunc oculum pro vobis impendi; date mihi ducem qui
me ducat ad liberos meos, nam succisi poplites membra
non sustinent'? Haec ipsa tolerabilia essent si ad elo- 2
quentiam ituris viam facerent. Nunc et rerum tumore
et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum pro-
ficiunt, ut cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium
orbem terrarum delatos. Et ideo ego adolescentulos 3
existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex his
quae in usu habemus aut audiunt aut vident, sed
piratas cum catenis in litore stantes, sed tyrannos
edicta scribentes quibus imperent filiis ut patrum
suorum capita praecidant, sed responsa in pestilentiam
data ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur, sed
mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta factaque
quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. Qui inter haec tantum 2
nutriuntur non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere
qui in culina habitant. Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi 2
omnem eloquentiam perdidistis. Levibus enim atque
inanibus sonis ludibria quaedam excitando effecistis ut
corpus orationis enervaretur et caderet. Nondum 3
iuvenes declamationibus continebantur cum Sophocles
aut Euripides invenerunt verba quibus deberent loqui.
Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat cum 4
Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis versibus canere

5 timuerunt. Et ne poetas [quidem] solum ad testi- LO
monium citem, certe neque Platona neque Demosthenen ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse video.
6 Grandis et ut ita dicam pudica oratio non est maculosa
7 nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit. Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque iuvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere adflavit, semelque
8 corrupta eloquentiae regula stetit et obmutuit. Ad summam, quis postea Thucydidis, quis Hyperidis ad famam processit? Ac ne carmen quidem sani coloris enituit, sed omnia quasi eodem cibo pasta non
9 potuerunt usque ad senectutem canescere. Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit postquam Aegyptiorum audacia tam magnae artis compendiariam invenit."

3 Non est passus Agamemnon me diutius declamare in porticu quam ipse in schola sudaverat, sed "adolescens" inquit "quoniam sermonem habes non publici saporis et, quod rarissimum est, amas bonam mentem,
2 non fraudabo te arte secreta. Nimirum in his exercitationibus doctores peccant, qui necesse habent cum insanientibus furere. Nam nisi dixerint quae adolescentuli probent, ut ait Cicero, 'soli in scholis relin-
3 quentur.' Sicut ficti adulatores cum cenam divitum captant nihil prius meditantur quam id quod putant gratissimum auditoribus fore, nec enim aliter impetrabunt quod petunt nisi quasdam insidias auribus
4 fecerint; sic eloquentiae magister, nisi tamquam piscator eam imposuerit hamis escam quam scierit appetituros esse pisciculos, sine spe praedae morabitur in scopulo.

4 Quid ergo est? Parentes obiurgatione digni sunt, qui
2 nolunt liberos suos severa lege proficere. Primum enim, sicut omnia, spes quoque suas ambitioni donant. Deinde cum ad vota properant, cruda adhuc studia in forum impellunt et eloquentiam, qua nihil esse maius

LO confitentur, pueris induunt adhuc nascentibus. Quod si 3
paterentur laborum gradus fieri, ut studiosi iuvenes
lectione severa inrigarentur, ut sapientiae praeceptis
animos componerent, ut verba atroci stilo effoderent,
ut quod vellent imitari diu audirent, *ut persuaderent*
sibi nihil esse magnificum quod pueris placeret, iam
illa grandis oratio haberet maiestatis suae pondus.
Nunc pueri in scholis ludunt, iuvenes ridentur in foro, 4
et quod utroque turpius est, quod quisque perperam
dicit in senectute confiteri non vult. Sed ne me putes 5
improbasse schedium Lucilianae humilitatis, quod
sentio et ipse carmine effingam:

"Artis severae si quis amat effectus 5
Mentemque magnis applicat, prius mores
Frugalitatis lege poliat exacta.
Ne curet alto regiam trucem vultu
Cliensve cenas impotentium captet, 5
Nec perditis addictus obruat vino
Mentis calorem, neve plausor in scena
Sedeat redemptus, histrioniae addictus.
Sed sive armigerae rident Tritonidis arces,
Seu Lacedaemonio tellus habitata colono 10
Sirenumve domus, det primos versibus annos
Maeoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem.
Mox et Socratico plenus grege mittat habenas
Liber et ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.
Hinc Romana manus circumfluat et modo Graio 15
Exonerata sono mutet suffusa saporem.
Interdum subducta foro det pagina cursum
Et fortuna sonet celeri distincta meatu.
Det epulas et bella truci memorata canore
Grandiaque indomiti Ciceronis verba minetur. 20
His animum succinge bonis; sic flumine largo
Plenus Pierio defundes pectore verba."

6 Dum hunc diligentius audio non notavi mihi Ascylti LO
fugam, et dum in hoc dictorum aestu in hortis incedo,
ingens scholasticorum turba in porticum venit, ut
apparebat, ab extemporali declamatione nescio cuius
2 qui Agamemnonis suasoriam exceperat. Dum ergo
iuvenes sententias rident ordinemque totius dictionis
infamant, opportune subduxi me et cursim Ascylton
3 persequi coepi. Sed nec viam diligenter tenebam
4 [quia] nec quo stabulum esset sciebam. Itaque
quocumque ieram eodem revertebar, donec et cursu
fatigatus et sudore iam madens accedo aniculam
7 quandam quae agreste holus vendebat et "rogo"
inquam "mater, numquid scis ubi ego habitem?"
Delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta et "quidni
sciam?" inquit consurrexitque et coepit me praecedere.
2 Divinam ego putabam et subinde ut in locum secre-
tiorem venimus centonem anus urbana reiecit et "hic"
3 inquit "debes habitare." Cum ego negarem me agnos-
cere domum, video quosdam inter titulos nudasque
4 meretrices furtim spatiantes. Tarde, immo iam sero,
intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum. Execratus
itaque aniculae insidias operui caput et per medium
lupanar fugere coepi in alteram partem, cum ecce in
ipso aditu occurrit mihi aeque lassus ac moriens
Ascyltos; putares ab eadem anicula esse deductum.
5 Itaque ut ridens eum consalutavi, quid in loco tam
8 deformi faceret quaesivi. Sudorem ille manibus detersit
et "si scires" inquit "quae mihi acciderunt." "Quid
2 novi?" inquam ego. At ille deficiens "cum errarem"
inquit "per totam civitatem nec invenirem quo loco
stabulum reliquissem, accessit ad me pater familiae et
3 ducem se itineris humanissime promisit. Per anfractus
deinde obscurissimos egressus me in hunc locum
produxit prolatoque peculio coepit rogare stuprum.
4 || Iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat, || iam ille L/LO

LO mihi iniecerat manum, et nisi valentior fuissem, dedissem poenas." *

L || Adeo ubique omnes mihi videbantur satyrion bibisse

*

Iunctis viribus molestum contempsimus

*

Quasi per caliginem vidi Gitona in crepidine semitae 9
stantem et in eundem locum me conieci

*

THE JEALOUSY OF ENCOLPIUS AND ASCYLTOS

Cum quaererem numquid nobis in prandium frater 2
parasset, consedit puer super lectum et manantes
lacrimas pollice expressit. Perturbatus ego habitu 3
fratris quid accidisset quaesivi. At ille tarde quidem
et invitus, sed postquam precibus etiam iracundiam
miscui, "tuus" inquit "iste frater seu comes paulo 4
ante in conductum accucurrit coepitque mihi velle
LO pudorem extorquere. || Cum ego proclamarem gladium 5
strinxit et 'si Lucretia es' inquit 'Tarquinium inve-
L nisti.'" || Quibus ego auditis intentavi in oculos Ascylti 6
manus et "quid dicis" inquam "muliebris patientiae
scortum, cuius nec spiritus purus est?" Inhorrescere 7
se finxit Ascyltos, mox sublatis fortius manibus longe
maiore nisu clamavit "non taces" inquit "gladiator 8
obscene, quem de ruina arena dimisit? Non taces, 9
nocturne percussor, qui ne tum quidem cum fortiter
faceres cum pura muliere pugnasti, cuius eadem 10
ratione in viridario frater fui qua nunc in deversorio
puer est?" "Subduxisti te" inquam "a praeceptoris
colloquio." "Quid ego, homo stultissime, facere debui 10
cum fame morerer? An videlicet audirem sententias,
id est, vitrea facta et somniorum interpretamenta?
Multo me turpior es tu hercule, qui ut foris cenares 2

3 poetam laudasti." Itaque ex turpissima lite in risum L
4 diffusi pacatius ad reliqua secessimus. Rursus in memoriam revocatus iniuriae, "Ascylte" inquam "intelligo nobis convenire non posse. Itaque communes sarcinulas partiamur ac paupertatem nostram privatis
5 quaestibus temptemus expellere. Et tu litteras scis et ego. Ne quaestibus tuis obstem, aliud aliquid promittam; alioqui mille causae cotidie nos collident et per
6 totam urbem rumoribus different." Non recusavit Ascyltos et "hodie" inquit "quia tamquam scholastici ad cenam promisimus, non perdamus noctem. Cras autem, quia hoc libet, et habitationem mihi prospiciam
7 et aliquem fratrem." "Tardum est" inquam "differre quod placet." * Hanc tam praecipitem divisionem libido faciebat; iamdudum enim cupiebam amoliri custodem molestum ut veterem cum Gitone meo rationem reducerem. *

11 Postquam lustravi oculis totam civitatem, in cellulam redii osculisque tandem bona fide exactis alligo artissimis complexibus puerum fruorque votis usque ad
2 invidiam felicibus. Nec adhuc quidem omnia erant facta cum Ascyltos furtim se foribus admovit discussisque fortissime claustris invenit me cum fratre ludentem. Risu itaque plausuque cellulam implevit,
3 opertum me amiculo evoluit et "quid agebas" inquit "frater sanctissime? Quid? Vesticontubernium facis?"
4 Nec se solum inter verba continuit sed lorum de pera solvit et me coepit non perfunctorie verberare, adiectis etiam petulantibus verbis, "sic dividere cum fratre nolito." *

THE ADVENTURE OF THE STOLEN CLOAK

12 Veniebamus in forum deficiente iam die, in quo notavimus frequentiam rerum venalium, non quidem pre-

L tiosarum sed tamen quarum fidem male ambulantem
obscuritas temporis facillime tegeret. Cum ergo et ipsi 2
raptum latrocinio pallium detulissemus, uti occasione
opportunissima coepimus atque in quodam angulo
laciniam extremam concutere, si quem forte emptorem
splendida vestis posset adducere. Nec diu moratus 3
rusticus quidam familiaris oculis meis cum muliercula
comite propius accessit ac diligentius considerare
pallium coepit. Invicem Ascyltos iniecit contempla- 4
tionem super humeros rustici emptoris ac subito
exanimatus conticuit. Ac ne ipse quidem sine aliquo 5
metu hominem conspexi, nam videbatur ille mihi esse
qui tuniculam in solitudine invenerat. Plane is ipse
erat. Sed cum Ascyltos timeret fidem oculorum, ne 6
quid temere faceret prius tamquam emptor propius
accessit detraxitque humeris laciniam et diligentius
tenuit. O lusum fortunae mirabilem! Nam adhuc nec 13
suturae quidem attulerat rusticus curiosas manus et
tamquam mendici spolium etiam fastidiose venditabat.
Ascyltos postquam depositum esse inviolatum vidit et 2
personam vendentis contemptam, seduxit me paululum
a turba et "scis" inquit "frater, redisse ad nos
thesaurum de quo querebar? Illa est tunicula adhuc 3
ut apparet intactis aureis plena. Quid ergo facimus
aut quo iure rem nostram vindicamus?" Exhilaratus 4
ego non tantum quia praedam videbam sed etiam
quod fortuna me a turpissima suspicione dimiserat,
negavi circuitu agendum, sed plane iure civili dimi-
candum, ut si nollet alienam rem domino reddere, ad
interdictum veniret. Contra Ascyltos leges timebat et 14
"quis" aiebat "hoc loco nos novit aut quis habebit
dicentibus fidem? Mihi plane placet emere, quamvis
nostrum sit, quod agnoscimus, et parvo aere recu-
perare potius thesaurum quam in ambiguam litem
descendere:

2 || "Quid faciunt leges ubi sola pecunia regnat LO
Aut ubi paupertas vincere nuda potest?
Ipsi qui Cynica traducunt tempora pera
Nonnumquam nummis vendere verba solent.
Ergo iudicium nihil est nisi publica merces 5
Atque eques in causa qui sedet empta probat."

3 || Sed praeter unum dipondium, quo cicer lupinosque L
4 destinaveramus mercari, nihil ad manum erat. Ne interim praeda discederet, itaque vel minoris pallium addicere placuit, ut pretium maioris compendii levio-
5 rem faceret iacturam. Cum primum ergo explicuimus mercem mulier operto capite quae cum rustico steterat inspectis diligentius signis iniecit utramque laciniae manum magnaque vociferatione latrones tenere clama-
6 vit. Contra nos perturbati ne videremur nihil agere, et ipsi scissam et sordidam tenere coepimus tunicam atque eadem invidia proclamare nostra esse spolia
7 quae illi possiderent. Sed nullo genere par erat causa nostra, et cociones qui ad clamorem confluxerant nostram scilicet de more ridebant invidiam, quod pro illa parte vindicabant pretiosissimam vestem, pro hac
15 pannuciam ne centonibus quidem bonis dignam. Hinc Ascyltos bene risum discussit, qui silentio facto "videmus" inquit "suam cuique rem esse carissimam; reddant nobis tunicam nostram et pallium suum re-
2 cipiant." Etsi rustico mulierique placebat permutatio, advocati tamen, etiam poenae nocturni, qui volebant pallium lucri facere, flagitabant uti apud se utraque deponerentur ac postero die iudex querelam inspiceret.
3 Neque enim res tantum quae viderentur in controversia esse, sed longe aliud quaeri, in utra parte scilicet
4 latrocinii suspicio haberetur. Iam sequestri placebant et nescio quis ex cocionibus, calvus, tuberosissimae frontis, qui solebat aliquando etiam causas agere,

L ·invaserat pallium exhibiturumque crastino die affirmabat. Ceterum apparebat nihil aliud quaeri nisi ut semel deposita vestis inter praedones strangularetur, et nos metu criminis non veniremus ad constitutum. *Rusticus* idem plane et nos volebamus. Itaque utriusque partis votum casus adiuvit. Indignatus enim rusticus quod nos centonem exhibendum postularemus, misit in faciem Ascylti tunicam et liberatos querela iussit pallium deponere quod solum litem faciebat. Et recuperato ut putabamus thesauro in deversorium praecipites abimus praeclusisque foribus ridere acumen non minus cocionum quam calumnantium coepimus, quod nobis ingenti calliditate pecuniam reddidissent. 5 6 7 8

Nolo quod cupio statim tenere 9
Nec victoria mi placet parata.

*

THE ADVENTURE WITH QUARTILLA

LO ||·Sed ut primum beneficio Gitonis praeparata nos implevimus cena, ostium non satis audaci strepitu exsonuit impulsum. Cum et ipsi ergo pallidi rogaremus quis esset, "aperi" inquit "iam scies." Dumque loquimur sera sua sponte delapsa cecidit reclusaeque subito fores admiserunt intrantem. Mulier autem erat operto capite, illa scilicet quae paulo ante cum rustico steterat, et "me derisisse" inquit "vos putabatis? Ego sum ancilla Quartillae, cuius vos sacrum ante cryptam turbastis. Ecce ipsa venit ad stabulum petitque ut vobiscum loqui liceat. Nolite perturbari. Nec accusat errorem vestrum nec punit; immo potius miratur quis deus iuvenes tam urbanos in regionem suam detulerit." Tacentibus adhuc nobis et ad neutram partem adsentationem flectentibus intravit ipsa, una comitata virgine, sedensque super torum meum diu 16 2 3 4 17

2 flevit. Ac ne tunc quidem nos ullum adiecimus LO
verbum, sed attoniti exspectavimus lacrimas ad osten-
3 tationem doloris paratas. Ut ergo tam ambitiosus
detonuit imber, retexit superbum pallio caput et
manibus inter se usque ad articulorum strepitum
4 constrictis "quaenam est" inquit "haec audacia, aut ubi
fabulas et antecessura latrocinia didicistis? Misereor
mediusfidius vestri; neque enim impune quisquam
5 quod non licuit aspexit. Utique nostra regio tam
praesentibus plena est numinibus ut facilius possis
6 deum quam hominem invenire. Ac ne me putetis
ultionis causa huc venisse, aetate magis vestra com-
moveor quam iniuria mea. Imprudentes enim ut adhuc
7 puto admisistis inexpiabile scelus. Ipsa quidem illa
nocte vexata tam periculoso inhorrui frigore ut ter-
tianae etiam impetum timeam. Et ideo medicinam
somno petii iussaque sum vos perquirere atque im-
8 petum morbi monstrata subtilitate lenire. Sed de
remedio non tam valde laboro; maior enim in prae-
cordiis dolor saevit, qui me usque ad necessitatem
mortis deducit, ne scilicet iuvenili impulsi licentia quod
in sacello Priapi vidistis vulgetis, deorumque consilia
9 proferatis in populum. Protendo igitur ad genua vestra
supinas manus petoque et oro ne nocturnas religiones
iocum risumque faciatis, neve traducere velitis tot
annorum secreta quae vix mille homines noverunt."

18 Secundum hanc deprecationem lacrimas rursus effudit
gemitibusque largis concussa tota facie ac pectore
2 torum meum pressit. Ego eodem tempore et miseri-
cordia turbatus et metu bonum animum habere eam
3 iussi et de utroque esse securam: nam neque sacra
quemquam vulgaturum, et si quod praeterea aliud
remedium ad tertianam deus illi monstrasset, adiuva-
turos nos divinam prudentiam vel periculo nostro.
4 Hilarior post hanc pollicitationem facta mulier

LO basiavit me spissius et ex lacrimis in risum mota descendentes ab aure capillos meos lenta manu duxit
L || et "facio" inquit "indutias vobiscum et a constituta 5
LO lite dimitto. Quod || si non annuissetis de hac medicina quam peto iam parata erat in crastinum turba quae et iniuriam meam vindicaret et dignitatem:

"Contemni turpe est, legem donare, superbum; 6
Hoc amo, quod possum qua libet ire via.
Nam sane et sapiens contemptus iurgia flectit
Et qui non iugulat victor abire solet."

Complosis deinde manibus in tantum repente risum 7
effusa est ut timeremus. Idem ex altera parte et ancilla fecit quae prior venerat, idem virguncula quae una intraverat. Omnia mimico risu exsonuerant, cum in- 19
terim nos quae tam repentina esset mutatio animorum facta ignoraremus ac modo nosmetipsos modo mulieres intueremur.

*

L || "Ideo vetui hodie in hoc deversorio quemquam 2
mortalium admitti, ut remedium tertianae sine ulla interpellatione a vobis acciperem." Ut haec dixit 3
Quartilla, Ascyltos quidem paulisper obstipuit, ego autem frigidior hieme Gallica factus nullum potui verbum emittere. Sed ne quid tristius exspectarem comitatus faciebat. Tres enim erant mulierculae, si 4
quid vellent conari, infirmissimae, scilicet contra nos: si nihil aliud, virilis sexus esset. Et praecincti certe 5
altius eramus; immo ego sic iam paria composueram ut si pugnandum foret, ipse cum Quartilla consisterem, Ascyltos cum ancilla, Giton cum virgine.

*

Tunc vero excidit omnis constantia attonitis, et mors 6
non dubia miserorum oculos coepit obducere.

*

20 "Rogo" inquam "domina, si quid tristius paras, celerius L
confice. Neque enim tam magnum facinus admisimus
ut debeamus torti perire." *

2 Ancilla quae Psyche vocabatur lodiculam in pavimento
diligenter extendit *
Sollicitavit inguina mea mille iam mortibus frigida
*

3 Operuerat Ascyltos pallio caput, admonitus scilicet
periculosum esse alienis interesse secretis
*

4 Duas institas ancilla de sinu protulit alteraque pedes
nostros alligavit, altera manus *

5 Ascyltos iam deficiente fabularum contextu "quid
6 ergo" inquit "non sum dignus qui bibam?" Ancilla risu
meo prodita complosit manus et "apposui quidem,
adolescens; solus tantum medicamentum ebibisti?"

7 "Itane est" inquit Quartilla "quicquid saturei fuit
Encolpius ebibit?" *
Non indecenti risu latera commovit *

8 || Ac ne Giton quidem ultimo risum tenuit, utique LO
postquam virguncula cervicem eius invasit et non re-
pugnanti puero innumerabilia oscula dedit
*

21 || Volebamus miseri exclamare sed nec in auxilio erat L
quisquam et hinc Psyche acu comatoria cupienti mihi
invocare Quiritium fidem malas pungebat, illinc puella
penicillo quod et ipsum satureo tinxerat Ascylton
opprimebat *

2 Ultimo cinaedus supervenit myrtea subornatus gausapa
cinguloque succinctus, modo extortis nos clunibus
cecidit, modo basiis olidissimis inquinavit, donec
Quartilla balenaciam tenens virgam alteque succincta
iussit infelicibus dari missionem *

3 Uterque nostrum religiosissimis iuravit verbis inter
duos periturum esse tam horribile secretum
*

L Intraverunt palaestritae complures et nos legitimo perfusos oleo refecerunt. Utcumque ergo lassitudine abiecta cenatoria repetimus et in proximam cellam ducti sumus, in qua tres lecti strati erant et reliquus lautitiarum apparatus splendissime expositus. Iussi ergo discubuimus, et gustatione mirifica initiati vino etiam Falerno inundamur. Excepti etiam pluribus ferculis cum laberemur in somnum "itane est" inquit Quartilla "etiam dormire vobis in mente est, cum sciatis Priapi genio pervigilium deberi?" 4 5 6 7

*

Cum Ascyltos gravatus tot malis in somnum laberetur, illa quae iniuria depulsa fuerat ancilla totam faciem eius fuligine longa perfricuit et non sentientis labra humerosque sopitionibus pinxit. Iam ego etiam tot malis fatigatus minimum veluti gustum hauseram somni; idem et tota intra forisque familia fecerat, atque alii circa pedes discumbentium sparsi iacebant, alii parietibus appliciti, quidam in ipso limine coniunctis manebant capitibus; lucernae quoque humore defectae tenue et extremum lumen spargebant, cum duo Syri expilaturi triclinium intraverunt, dumque inter argentum avidius rixantur, diductam fregerunt lagoenam. Cecidit etiam mensa cum argento, et ancillae super torum marcentis excussum forte altius poculum caput fregit. Ad quem ictum exclamavit illa pariterque et fures prodidit et partem ebriorum excitavit. Syri illi qui venerant ad praedam postquam se deprehensos intellexerunt, pariter secundum lectum conciderunt, ut putares hoc convenisse, et stertere tamquam olim dormientes coeperunt. Iam et tricliniarches experrectus lucernis occidentibus oleum infuderat, et pueri detersis paulisper oculis redierant ad ministerium, cum intrans cymbalistria et concrepans aera omnes excitavit. Refectum igitur est convivium et rursus Quartilla ad 22 2 3 4 5 6 23

bibendum revocavit. Adiuvit hilaritatem comissantis L
cymbalistria *

2 Intrat cinaedus homo omnium insulsissimus et plane illa domo dignus qui ut infractis manibus congemuit, eiusmodi carmina effudit:

3 "Huc huc convenite nunc, spatalocinaedi,
Pede tendite, cursum addite, convolate planta,
Femore facili, clune agili et manu procaces,
Molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi."

4 Consumptis versibus suis immundissimo me basio conspuit. Mox et super lectum venit atque omni vi detexit recusantem. Super inguina mea diu multumque
5 frustra moluit. Profluebant per frontem sudantis acaciae rivi et inter rugas malarum tantum erat cretae
24 ut putares detectum parietem nimbo laborare. Non tenui ego diutius lacrimas sed ad ultimam perductus tristitiam "quaeso" inquam "domina, certe embasicoe-
2 tan iusseras dari?" Complosit illa tenerius manus et "o" inquit "hominem acutum atque urbanitatis vernulae fontem. Quid? Tu non intellexeras cinaedum
3 embasicoetan vocari?" Deinde ut contubernali meo melius succederet, "per fidem" inquam "nostram,
4 Ascyltos in hoc triclinio solus ferias agit?" "Ita" inquit Quartilla "et Ascylto embasicoetas detur." Ab hac voce equum cinaedus mutavit transituque ad comitem
5 meum facto clunibus eum basiisque distrivit. || Stabat LO inter haec Giton et risu dissolvebat ilia sua. Itaque conspicata eum Quartilla cuius esset puer diligentis-
6 sima sciscitatione quaesivit. Cum ego fratrem meum esse dixissem, "quare ergo" inquit "me non basiavit?"
7 Vocatumque ad se in osculum adplicuit. Mox manum etiam demisit in sinum et pertractato vasculo tam rudi "haec" inquit "belle cras in promulside libidinis

LO nostrae militabit; hodie enim post asellum diaria non sumo."

Cum haec diceret, ad aurem eius Psyche ridens ac- 25
cessit, et cum dixisset nescio quid "ita ita" inquit
Quartilla "bene admonuisti. Cur non quia bellissima
occasio est, devirginatur Pannychis nostra?" Con- 2
tinuoque producta est puella satis bella et quae non
plus quam septem annos habere videatur, et ea ipsa
quae primum cum Quartilla in cellam venerat nos-
tram. Plaudentibus ergo universis et postulantibus 3
nuptias [fecerunt] obstipui ego et nec Gitona vere-
cundissimum puerum sufficere huic petulantiae af-
firmavi, nec puellam eius aetatis esse ut muliebris
patientiae legem posset accipere. "Ita" inquit Quartilla 4
"minor est ista quam ego fui cum primum virum
passa sum? Iunonem meam iratam habeam si umquam
me meminerim virginem fuisse. Nam et infans cum 5
paribus inquinata sum et subinde prodeuntibus annis
maioribus me pueris applicui, donec ad hanc aetatem
perveni. Hinc etiam puto proverbium natum illud, ut 6
dicatur posse taurum tollere qui vitulum sustulerit."
Igitur ne maiorem iniuriam in secreto frater acciperet, 7
consurrexi ad officium nuptiale. Iam Psyche puellae 26
caput involverat flammeo, iam embasicoetas praefere-
bat facem, iam ebriae mulieres longum agmen plau-
dentes fecerant thalamumque incesta exornaverat
veste, cum Quartilla quoque iocantium libidine accensa 2
et ipsa surrexit correptumque Gitona in cubiculum
traxit. Sine dubio non repugnaverat puer, ac ne puella 3
quidem tristis expaverat nuptiarum nomen. Itaque cum 4
inclusi iacerent, consedimus ante limen thalami et in
primis Quartilla per rimam improbe deductam appli-
cuerat oculum curiosum lusumque puerilem libidinosa
speculabatur diligentia. Me quoque ad idem specta- 5
culum lenta manu traxit, et quia considerantium

haeserant vultus, quidquid a spectaculo vacabat, com- LO
movebat obiter labra et me tamquam furtivis osculis
verberabat *

Abiecti in lectis sine metu reliquam exegimus noctem

*

THE BANQUET OF TRIMALCHIO

|| Venerat iam tertius dies, id est, exspectatio liberae H
cenae, sed tot vulneribus confossis fuga magis placebat
quam quies. Itaque cum maesti deliberaremus quonam
genere praesentem evitaremus procellam, unus servus
Agamemnonis interpellavit trepidantes et "quid? Vos"
inquit "nescitis hodie apud quem fiat? Trimalchio,
lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et bucinato-
rem habet subornatum, ut subinde sciat quantum de
vita perdiderit." Amicimur ergo diligenter obliti om-
nium malorum et Gitona libentissime servile officium
27 tuentem usque hoc iubemus in balnea sequi. Nos in-
terim vestiti errare coepimus, immo iocari magis et
circulis ludentum accedere, cum subito || videmus HL
senem calvum, tunica russea vestitum, inter pueros
2 capillatos ludentem pila. Nec tam pueri, quamquam
erat operae pretium, ad spectaculum traxerant, quam
ipse pater familiae, qui soleatus pila prasina exerce-
batur. Nec eam amplius repetebat quae terram con-
tigerat, sed follem plenum habebat servus sufficie-
3 batque ludentibus. Notavimus etiam res novas. Nam
duo spadones in diversa parte circuli stabant, quorum
alter matellam tenebat argenteam, alter numerabat
pilas, non quidem eas quae inter manus lusu expellente
4 vibrabant, sed eas quae in terram decidebant. Cum
has ergo miraremur lautitias, || accurrit Menelaus et H
"hic est" inquit "apud quem cubitum ponitis, et
5 quidem iam principium cenae videtis." Et iam non

HL loquebatur Menelaus, cum || Trimalchio digitos concrepuit, ad quod signum matellam spado ludenti subiecit. Exonerata ille vesica aquam poposcit ad manus digitosque paululum adspersos in capite pueri tersit. Longum erat singula excipere. Itaque intravimus 28
balneum, et sudore calefacto momento temporis ad frigidam eximus. Iam Trimalchio unguento perfusus 2
tergebatur, non linteis, sed palliis ex lana mollissima factis. Tres interim iatraliptae in conspectu eius 3
H Falernum potabant, || et cum plurimum rixantes effunderent, Trimalchio hoc suum propin esse dicebat.
HL || Hinc involutus coccina gausapa lecticae impositus 4
est praecedentibus phaleratis cursoribus quattuor et chirapsio, in quo delitiae eius ferebantur, puer vetulus, lippus, domino Trimalchione deformior. Cum 5
ergo afferetur, ad caput eius symphoniacus cum minimis tibiis accessit et tamquam in aurem aliquid secreto diceret, toto itinere cantavit.
Sequimur nos admiratione iam saturi et cum Aga- 6
H memnone ad ianuam pervenimus, || in cuius poste libellus erat cum hac inscriptione fixus: "QUISQUIS 7
SERVUS SINE DOMINICO IUSSU FORAS EXIE-
HL RIT, ACCIPIET PLAGAS CENTUM." || In aditu 8
autem ipso stabat ostiarius prasinatus, cerasino succinctus cingulo, atque in lance argentea pisum pur- 9
gabat. Super limen autem cavea pendebat aurea in qua pica varia intrantes salutabat. Ceterum ego dum 29
omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi. Ad sinistram enim introeuntibus non longe ab ostiario cella
ianis ingens, catena vinctus, in pariete pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum "CAVE CAVE CANEM." Et collegae quidem mei riserunt, ego autem collecto 2
spiritu non destiti totum parietem persequi. Erat autem 3
venalicium *cum* titulis pictum, et ipse Trimalchio capillatus caduceum tenebat Minervaque ducente

Romam tensa intrabat. Hinc quemadmodum ratiocinari didicisset, dein dispensator factus esset, omnia diligenter curiosus pictor cum inscriptione reddiderat. In deficiente vero iam porticu levatum mento in tribunal excelsum Mercurius rapiebat. Praesto erat Fortuna cornu abundanti copiosa et tres Parcae aurea pensa torquentes. Notavi etiam in porticu gregem cursorum cum magistro se exercentem. Praeterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cuius aedicula erant Lares argentei positi Venerisque signum marmoreum et pyxis aurea non pusilla, in qua barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant. Interrogare ergo atriensem coepi quas in medio picturas haberent. "Iliada et Odyssian" inquit || "ac Laenatis gladiatorium munus." Non licebat multaceam considerare. HL H

Nos || iam ad triclinium perveneramus, in cuius parte prima procurator rationes accipiebat. Et quod praecipue miratus sum, in postibus triclinii fasces erant cum securibus fixi, quorum imam partem quasi embolum navis aeneum finiebat, in quo erat scriptum: "C. POMPEIO TRIMALCHIONI SEVIRO AUGUSTALI CINNAMUS DISPENSATOR." Sub eodem titulo etiam lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat, et duae tabulae in utroque poste defixae, quarum altera, si bene memini, hoc habebat inscriptum: "III. ET PRIDIE KALENDAS IANUARIAS C. NOSTER FORAS CENAT;" altera lunae cursum stellarumque septem imagines pictas, et qui dies boni quique incommodi essent distinguente bulla notabantur. His repleti voluptatibus cum conaremur in triclinium intrare, exclamavit unus ex servis, qui super hoc officium erat positus "dextro pede." Sine dubio paulisper trepidavimus ne contra praeceptum aliquis nostrum limen transiret. || Ceterum, ut pariter movimus dextros HL H HL
gressus, servus nobis despoliatus procubuit ante pedes

HL et rogare coepit ut se poenae eriperemus: nec magnum
esse peccatum suum propter quod periclitaretur; sub- 8
ducta enim sibi vestimenta dispensatoris in balneo,
quae vix fuissent decem sestertiorum. Rettulimus ergo 9
dextros pedes, dispensatoremque in precario aureos
numerantem deprecati sumus servo remitteret poenam.
Superbus ille sustulit vultum et "non tam iactura me 10
movet" inquit "quam negligentia nequissimi servi.
Vestimenta mea cubitoria perdidit quae mihi natali 11
meo cliens quidam donaverat, Tyria sine dubio, sed
iam semel lota. Quid ergo est? Dono vobis eum."
Obligati tam grandi beneficio, cum intrassemus 31
triclinium, occurrit nobis ille idem servus pro quo
rogaveramus et stupentibus spississima basia impegit,
gratias agens humanitati nostrae. "Ad summam, statim 2
scietis" ait "cui dederitis beneficium. Vinum domini-
cum ministratoris gratia est." Tandem ergo discubui- 3
mus pueris Alexandrinis aquam in manus nivatam
infundentibus aliisque insequentibus ad pedes ac
paronychia ingenti subtilitate tollentibus. Ac ne 4
in hoc quidem tam molesto tacebant officio sed
obiter cantabant. Ego experiri volui an tota familia 5
cantaret, itaque potionem poposci. Paratissimus puer 6
non minus me acido cantico excepit, et quisquis aliquid
rogatus erat ut daret Pantomimi 7
chorum, non patris familiae triclinium crederes.

THE *GUSTATIO* IS SERVED

Allata est tamen gustatio valde lauta, nam iam omnes 8
discubuerant praeter ipsum Trimalchionem, cui locus
novo more primus servabatur. Ceterum in promulsidari 9
asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habe-
bat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras. Tege- 10
bant asellum duae lances in quarum marginibus nomen

Trimalchionis inscriptum erat et argenti pondus. HL
Ponticuli etiam ferruminati sustinebant glires melle ac
11 papavere sparsos. Fuerunt et tomacula supra craticulam argenteam ferventia posita et infra craticulam Syriaca pruna cum granis Punici mali.

32 In his eramus lautitiis cum ipse Trimalchio ad symphoniam allatus est positusque inter cervicalia minu-
2 tissima expressit imprudentibus risum. Pallio enim coccino adrasum excluserat caput circaque oneratas veste cervices laticlaviam immiserat mappam fimbriis
3 hinc atque illinc pendentibus. Habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum, extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum, sed plane
4 ferreis velut stellis ferruminatum. Et ne has tantum ostenderet divitias, dextrum nudavit lacertum armilla aurea cultum et eboreo circulo lamina splendente
33 conexo. Ut deinde spina argentea dentes perfodit, "amici," inquit "nondum mihi suave erat in triclinium venire, sed ne absentivus morae vobis essem, omnem voluptatem mihi negavi. Permittitis tamen finiri
2 lusum." Sequebatur puer cum tabula terebinthina et crystallinis tesseris, notavique rem omnium delicatissimam. Pro calculis enim albis ac nigris, aureos
3 argentosque habebat denarios. Interim dum ille omnium textorum dicta inter lusum consumit, gustantibus adhuc nobis, repositorium allatum est cum corbe, in quo gallina erat lignea patentibus in orbem alis,
4 quales esse solent quae incubant ova. Accessere continuo duo servi et symphonia strepente scrutari paleam coeperunt erutaque subinde pavonina ova divisere
5 convivis. Convertit ad hanc cenam Trimalchio vultum et "amici" inquit "pavonis ova gallinae iussi supponi. Et mehercules timeo ne iam concepta sint; temptemus
6 tamen si adhuc sorbilia sunt." Accipimus nos coch-

HL learia non minus selibras pendentia ovaque ex farina pingui figurata pertundimus. Ego quidem paene 7
proieci partem meam, nam videbatur iam in pullum
coisse. Deinde ut audivi veterem convivam "hic nescio 8
quid boni debet esse," persecutus putamen manu
pinguissimam ficedulam inveni piperato vitello circumdatam. Iam Trimalchio eadem omnia lusu inter- 34
misso poposcerat feceratque potestatem clara voce,
si quis nostrum iterum vellet mulsum sumere, cum
subito signum symphonia datur et gustatoria pariter
a choro cantante rapiuntur. Ceterum inter tumultum 2
cum forte parapsis excidisset et puer iacentem sustulisset, animadvertit Trimalchio, colaphisque obiurgari puerum ac proicere rursus parapsidem iussit.
Insecutus est lectarius argentumque inter reliqua 3
H purgamenta scopis coepit verrere. || Subinde intra- 4
verunt duo Aethiopes capillati cum pusillis utribus
quales solent esse qui arenam in amphitheatro spargunt, vinumque dedere in manus; aquam enim nemo
HL porrexit. || Laudatus propter elegantias dominus 5
"aequum" inquit "Mars amat. Itaque iussi suam
cuique mensam assignari. Obiter et putidissimi servi
minorem nobis aestum frequentia sua facient."

Statim allatae sunt amphorae vitreae diligenter gyp- 6
satae, quarum in cervicibus pittacia erant affixa cum
hoc titulo: "Falernum Opimianum annorum centum."
Dum titulos perlegimus, complosit Trimalchio manus 7
H et "heu" inquit "ergo diutius vivit || vinum quam
HL homuncio. Quare tangomenas faciamus. Vita || vinum
est. Verum Opimianum praesto. Heri non tam bonum
posui, et multo honestiores cenabant." Potantibus 8
ergo et accuratissime nobis lautitias mirantibus,
larvam argenteam attulit servus, sic aptam ut articuli
eius vertebraeque locatae in omnem partem flecterentur. Hanc cum super mensam semel iterumque abie- 9

cisset, et catenatio mobilis aliquot figuras exprimeret, HL
Trimalchio adiecit:

"Heu heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est.
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus.
Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene."

THE ZODIAC

35 Laudationem ferculum est insecutum, plane non pro
exspectatione magnum; novitas tamen omnium con-
2 vertit oculos. Rotundum enim repositorium duodecim
habebat signa in orbe disposita, superque proprium
convenientemque materiae structor imposuerat cibum:
3 super arietem cicer arietinum, super taurum bubulae
frustum, super geminos testiculos ac rienes, super can-
crum coronam, super leonem ficum Africanum, super
4 virginem steriliculam, super libram stateram in cuius
altera parte scriblita in altera placenta, || super scor- H
pionem pisciculum marinum, || super sagittarium HL
oclopetam, super capricornum locustam marinam,
super aquarium anserem, super pisces duos mullos.
5 In medio autem caespes cum herbis excisus favum sus-
6 tinebat. Circumferebat Aegyptius puer clibano argenteo
panem, atque ipse etiam taeterrima voce de Laser-
7 piciario mimo canticum extorsit. Nos ut tristiores ad
tam viles accessimus cibos, "suadeo" inquit Trimalchio
36 "cenemus: hoc est ius cenae." Haec ut dixit, ad sym-
phoniam quattuor tripudiantes procurrerunt superio-
2 remque partem repositorii abstulerunt. Quo facto vide-
mus infra, scilicet in altero ferculo, altilia et sumina
leporemque in medio pinnis subornatum ut Pegasus
3 videretur. Notavimus etiam circa angulos repositorii
Marsyas quattuor, ex quorum utriculis garum piperatum currebat super pisces qui tamquam in euripo

HL natabant. Damus omnes plausum a familia inceptum 4
et res electissimas ridentes aggredimur. Non minus et 5
Trimalchio eiusmodi methodio laetus "Carpe" inquit.
Processit statim scissor et ad symphoniam ita gesticu- 6
latus laceravit obsonium ut putares essedarium hy-
draule cantante pugnare. Ingerebat nihilominus 7
Trimalchio lentissima voce "Carpe, Carpe." Ego sus-
picatus ad aliquam urbanitatem totiens iteratam
vocem pertinere, non erubui eum qui supra me accum-
bebat hoc ipsum interrogare. At ille qui saepius 8
eiusmodi ludos spectaverat, "vides illum" inquit "qui
obsonium carpit; Carpus vocatur. Itaque quotiens-
cumque dicit 'Carpe,' eodem verbo et vocat et
imperat."

THE GUESTS ARE INTRODUCED

Non potui amplius quicquam gustare, sed conversus 37
ad eum ut quam plurima exciperem, longe arcessere
fabulas coepi sciscitarique quae esset illa mulier quae
huc atque illuc discurreret. "Uxor" inquit "Trimal- 2
chionis: Fortunata appellatur, quae nummos modio
metitur. Et modo modo quid fuit? Ignoscet mihi 3
genius tuus, noluisses de manu illius panem accipere.
Nunc, nec quid nec quare, in caelum abiit et Trimal- 4
chionis topanta est. Ad summam, mero meridie si dix- 5
H erit illi tenebras esse, credet. || Ipse nescit quid habeat, 6
adeo saplutus est, sed haec lupatria providet omnia, et
ubi non putes. Est sicca sobria, bonorum consiliorum, 7
tantum auri vides. Est tamen malae linguae, pica pulvi-
naris. Quem amat, amat; quem non amat, non amat.
Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet qua milvi volant, 8
nummorum nummos. Argentum in ostiarii illius cella
plus iacet quam quisquam in fortunis habet. Familia 9
vero—babae babae—non mehercules puto decimam

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10 partem esse quae dominum suum noverit. Ad sum- H
mam, quemvis ex istis babaecalis in rutae folium
38 coniciet. Nec est quod putes illum quicquam emere.
Omnia domi nascuntur: lana, credrae, piper, lacte gal-
2 linaceum si quaesieris invenies. Ad summam, parum
illi bona lana nascebatur: arietes a Tarento emit et eos
3 culavit in gregem. Mel Atticum ut domi nasceretur,
apes ab Athenis iussit afferri; obiter et vernaculae quae
4 sunt meliusculae a Graeculis fient. Ecce intra hos dies
scripsit ut illi ex India semen boletorum mitteretur.
Nam mulam quidem nullam habet quae non ex onagro
5 nata sit. Vides tot culcitras: nulla non aut conchylia-
tum aut coccinum tomentum habet. Tanta est animi
6 beatitudo. Reliquos autem collibertos eius cave con-
7 temnas. Valde sucossi sunt. Vides illum qui in imo imus
recumbit: hodie sua octingenta possidet. De nihilo
8 crevit. Modo solebat collo suo ligna portare. Sed quo-
modo dicunt—ego nihil scio sed audivi—cum Incuboni
9 pilleum rapuisset [et] thesaurum invenit. Ego nemini
invideo si quid deus dedit. Est tamen sub alapa et non
10 vult sibi male. Itaque proxime cum hoc titulo proscrip-
sit: 'C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iuliis cenacu-
11 lum locat: ipse enim domum emit.' Quid ille qui
libertini loco iacet? Quam bene se habuit. Non im-
propero illi. Sestertium suum vidit decies, sed male
12 vacillavit. Non puto illum capillos liberos habere, nec
mehercules sua culpa: ipso enim homo melior non
13 est, sed liberti scelerati qui omnia ad se fecerunt. Scito
autem: sociorum olla male fervet, et ubi semel res
14 inclinata est, amici de medio. Et quam honestam nego-
15 tiationem exercuit, quod illum sic vides. Libitinarius
fuit. Solebat sic cenare quomodo rex: apros gausapatos,
opera pistoria, avis, cocos, pistores. Plus vini sub mensa
effundebatur quam aliquis in cella habet. Fantasia, non
16 homo. Inclinatis quoque rebus suis, cum timeret ne

H creditores illum conturbare existimarent, hoc titulo auctionem proscripsit: 'Iulius Proculus auctionem faciet rerum supervacuarum.' "

TRIMALCHIO READS THE STARS

Interpellavit tam dulces fabulas Trimalchio; nam iam 39
sublatum erat ferculum hilaresque convivae vino sermonibusque publicatis operam coeperant dare. Is ergo 2
reclinatus in cubitum "hoc vinum" inquit "vos oportet suave faciatis. Pisces natare oportet. Rogo, me putatis 3
illa cena esse contentum quam in theca repositorii videratis? 'Sic notus Ulixes?' Quid ergo est? Oportet
etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse. Patrono meo 4
ossa bene quiescant, qui me hominem inter homines voluit esse. Nam mihi nihil novi potest afferri, sicut
ille fericulus iam habuit praxim. Caelus hic in quo 5
duodecim dii habitant, in totidem se figuras convertit, et modo fit aries. Itaque quisquis nascitur illo signo multa pecora habet, multum lanae, caput praeterea durum, frontem expudoratam, cornum acutum. Plurimi hoc signo scholastici nascuntur et arietilli." Laudamus urbanitatem mathematici, itaque adiecit: 6
"Deinde totus caelus taurulus fit. Itaque tunc calcitrosi nascuntur et bubulci et qui se ipsi pascunt. In 7
geminis autem nascuntur bigae et boves et colei et qui utrosque parietes linunt. In cancro ego natus sum, 8
ideo multis pedibus sto et in mari et in terra multa possideo; nam cancer et hoc et illoc quadrat. Et ideo iam dudum nihil super illum posui ne genesim meam premerem. In leone cataphagae nascuntur et imperiosi; 9
in virgine mulieres et fugitivi et compediti; in libra 10
laniones et unguentarii et quicumque aliquid expendunt; in scorpione venenarii et percussores; in sagit- 11
tario strabones qui holera spectant, lardum tollunt; in 12

capricorno aerumnosi quibus prae mala sua cornua H
nascuntur; in aquario copones et cucurbitae; in pisci-
13 bus obsonatores et rhetores. Sic orbis vertitur tamquam
mola, et semper aliquid mali facit, ut homines aut
14 nascantur aut pereant. Quod autem in medio caespitem
videtis, et super caespitem favum, nihil sine ratione
15 facio. Terra Mater est in medio quasi ovum corrotun-
data et omnia bona in se habet tamquam favus."

40 "Sophos" universi clamamus et sublatis manibus ad
cameram iuramus Hipparchum Aratumque comparan-
dos illi homines non fuisse, donec advenerunt ministri
ac toralia proposuerunt toris, in quibus retia erant
picta subsessoresque cum venabulis et totus venationis
2 apparatus. Necdum sciebamus quo mitteremus sus-
piciones nostras, cum extra triclinium clamor sublatus
est ingens et ecce canes Laconici etiam circa mensam
3 discurrere coeperunt. Secutum est hos repositorium in
quo positus erat primae magnitudinis aper, et quidem
pilleatus, e cuius dentibus sportellae dependebant duae
palmulis textae, altera caryotis, altera Thebaicis re-
4 pleta. Circa autem minores porcelli ex coptoplacentis
facti, quasi uberibus imminerent, scrofam esse positam
significabant. Et hi quidem apophoreti fuerunt.
5 Ceterum ad scindendum aprum non ille Carpus accessit
qui altilia laceraverat, sed barbatus ingens fasciis
cruralibus alligatus et alicula subornatus polymita,
strictoque venatorio cultro latus apri vehementer per-
6 cussit, ex cuius plaga turdi evolaverunt. Parati aucupes
cum harundinibus fuerunt et eos circa triclinium voli-
7 tantes momento exceperunt. Inde cum suum cuique
iussisset referri Trimalchio adiecit: "Etiam videte
quam porcus ille silvaticus lotam comederit glandem."
8 Statim pueri ad sportellas accesserunt quae pendebant
e dentibus, Thebaicasque et caryotas ad numerum
41 divisere cenantibus. Interim ego qui privatum habebam

H secessum in multas cogitationes diductus sum quare aper pilleatus intrasset. Postquam itaque omnes 2
bacalusias consumpsi, duravi interrogare illum interpretem meum quid me torqueret. At ille "plane etiam 3
hoc servus tuus indicare potest: non enim aenigma est sed res aperta. Hic aper cum heri summa cena eum 4
vindicasset a convivis dimissus est. Itaque hodie tamquam libertus in convivium revertitur." Damnavi ego 5
stuporem meum et nihil amplius interrogavi, ne viderer numquam inter honestos cenasse. Dum haec 6
loquimur puer speciosus, vitibus hederisque redimitus, modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Euhiumque confessus, calathisco uvas circumtulit et poemata domini sui acutissima voce traduxit. Ad quem sonum conversus 7
Trimalchio "Dionyse," inquit "Liber esto." Puer detraxit pilleum apro capitique suo imposuit. Tum 8
Trimalchio rursus adiecit: "Non negabitis me" inquit "habere Liberum patrem." Laudavimus dictum Trimalchionis et circumeuntem puerum sane perbasiamus.

TABLE TALK

Ab hoc ferculo Trimalchio ad lasanum surrexit. Nos 9
libertatem sine tyranno nacti coepimus invitare convivarum sermones. Dama itaque primus cum pataracina poposcisset: "Dies" inquit "nihil est; dum versas 10
te nox fit. Itaque nihil est melius quam de cubiculo recta in triclinium ire. Et mundum frigus habuimus. 11
Vix me balneus calfecit. Tamen calda potio vestiarius est. Staminatas duxi et plane matus sum. Vinus mihi 12
in cerebrum abiit."

Excepit Seleucus fabulae partem et "ego" inquit "non 42
cotidie lavor. Baliscus enim fullo est, aqua dentes 2
habet et cor nostrum cotidie liquescit. Sed cum mulsi pultarium obduxi frigori laecasin dico. Nec sane lavare

potui: fui enim hodie in funus. Homo bellus, tam H
3 bonus, Chrysanthus animam ebulliit. Modo modo me
4 appellavit: videor mihi cum illo loqui. Heu est heu.
Utres inflati ambulamus, minores quam muscae sumus.
Muscae tamen aliquam virtutem habent. Nos non
5 pluris sumus quam bullae. Et quid si non abstinax
fuisset? Quinque dies aquam in os suum non coniecit,
non micam panis. Tamen abiit ad plures. Medici illum
perdiderunt, immo magis malus fatus; medicus enim
6 nihil aliud est quam animi consolatio. Tamen bene
elatus est, vitali lecto, stragulis bonis. Planctus est
optime—manumisit aliquot—etiam si maligne illum
7 ploravit uxor. Quid si non illam optime accepisset?
Sed mulier quae mulier milvinum genus. Neminem
nihil boni facere oportet: aeque est enim ac si in
puteum conicias. Sed antiquus amor cancer est."
43 Molestus fuit, Philerosque proclamavit: "Vivorum
meminerimus. Ille habet quod sibi debebatur. Honeste
vixit, honeste obiit. Quid habet quod queratur? Ab
asse crevit et paratus fuit quadrantem de stercore
mordicus tollere. Itaque crevit quicquid crevit tam-
2 quam favus. Puto mehercules illum reliquisse solida
3 centum et omnia in nummis habuit. De re tamen ego
verum dicam, qui linguam caninam comedi: durae
buccae fuit, linguosus, discordia, non homo. Frater
enim fortis fuit, amicus amico, manu uncta, plena
4 mensa. Et inter initia malam parram pilavit, sed re-
correxit costas illius prima vindemia. Vendidit enim
vinum quantum ipse voluit. Et quod illius mentum
sustulit, hereditatem accepit ex qua plus involavit
5 quam illi relictum est. Et ille stips, dum fratri suo
irascitur, nescio cui terrae filio patrimonium elegavit.
6 Longe fugit quisquis suos fugit. Habuit autem oracu-
larios servos qui illum pessum dederunt. || Numquam HL
autem recte faciet qui cito credit, || utique homo H

H negotians. Tamen verum quod frunitus est quam diu vixit cui datum est, non cui destinatum. Plane fortunae filius, in manu illius plumbum 7
aurum fiebat. Facile est autem ubi omnia quadrata currunt. Et quot putas illum annos secum tulisse? Septuaginta et supra, sed corneolus fuit: aetatem bene ferebat, niger tamquam corvus. Noveram hominem olim oliorum et adhuc salax erat. Non mehercules 8
illum puto in domo canem reliquisse. Immo etiam puellarius erat, omnis Minervae homo. Nec improbo: hoc solum enim secum tulit."

Haec Phileros dixit, illa Ganymedes: "Narratis quod 44
nec ad caelum nec ad terram pertinet, cum interim nemo curat quid annona mordet. Non mehercules 2
hodie buccam panis invenire potui. Et quomodo siccitas perseverat: iam annum 'esurio' fuit. Aediles male 3
eveniat qui cum pistoribus colludunt: 'serva me; servabo te.' Itaque populus minutus laborat, nam isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt. O si 4
haberemus illos leones quos ego hic inveni cum primum ex Asia veni: illud erat vivere. Si simila 5
siligine inferior esset, larvas sic istos percolopabant ut illis Iuppiter iratus esset. Sed memini Safinium. Tunc 6
habitabat ad arcum veterem me puero, piper, non homo. Is quacumque ibat terras adurebat. Sed rectus, 7
sed certus, amicus amico, cum quo audacter posses in tenebris micare. In curia autem quo modo singulos 8
pilabat, nec schemas loquebatur sed directum. Cum 9
ageret porro in foro sic illius vox crescebat tamquam tuba. Nec sudavit umquam nec exspuit. Puto enim nescio quid Asiadis habuisse. Et quam benignus 10
resalutare, nomina omnium reddere, tamquam unus de nobis. Itaque illo tempore annona pro luto erat. 11
Asse panem quem emisses, non potuisses cum altero devorare. Nunc oculum bublum vidi maiorem. Heu 12

heu, cotidie peius. Haec colonia retroversus crescit H
13 tamquam coda vituli. Sed quare nos habemus aedilem
trium cauniarum qui sibi mavult assem quam vitam
nostram? Itaque domi gaudet, plus in die nummorum
accipit quam alter patrimonium haberet. Iam scio
14 unde acceperit denarios mille aureos. Sed si nos coleos
haberemus, non tantum sibi placeret. Nunc populus
15 est domi leones, foras vulpes. Quod ad me attinet, iam
pannos meos comedi et si perseverat haec annona
16 casulas meas vendam. Quid enim futurum est si nec dii
nec homines eius coloniae miserentur? Ita meos
17 fruniscar, ut ego puto omnia illa a diibus fieri. || Nemo HL
enim caelum caelum putat, nemo ieiunium servat, nemo
Iovem pili facit, sed omnes opertis oculis bona sua
18 computant. || Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in H
clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam
exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim plovebat, aut tunc
aut numquam, et omnes ridebant udi tamquam mures.
Itaque dii pedes lanatos habent, quia nos religiosi non
45 sumus. Agri iacent . . .” “Oro te” inquit Echion
centonarius “melius loquere. ‘Modo sic, modo sic’ in-
2 quit rusticus; varium porcum perdiderat. || Quod hodie HL
3 non est cras erit; sic vita truditur. || Non mehercules H
patria melior dici potest, si homines haberet. Sed
laborat hoc tempore, nec haec sola. Non debemus
4 delicati esse: ubique medius caelus est. Tu si alicubi
fueris, dices hic porcos coctos ambulare. Et ecce
habituri sumus munus excellente in terduo die festa,
5 familia non lanisticia sed plurimi liberti. Et Titus
noster magnum animum habet et est caldicerebrius:
aut hoc aut illud erit, quid utique. Nam illi domesticus
6 sum, non est nixcix. Ferrum optimum daturus est
sine fuga, carnarium in medio ut amphitheater videat.
Et habet unde. Relictum est illi sestertium trecenties,
decessit illius pater male. Ut quadringenta impendat,

H non sentiet patrimonium illius, et sempiterno nominabitur. Iam Manios aliquot habet et mulierem essedariam et dispensatorem Glyconis qui deprehensus est cum dominam suam delectaretur. Videbis populi rixam inter zelotypos et amasiunculos. Glyco autem sestertiarius homo dispensatorem ad bestias dedit. Hoc est se ipsum traducere. Quid servus peccavit, qui coactus est facere? Magis illa matella digna fuit quam taurus iactaret. Sed qui asinum non potest, stratum caedit. Quid autem Glyco putabat Hermogenis filicem umquam bonum exitum facturam? Ille milvo volanti poterat ungues resecare: colubra restem non parit. Glyco, Glyco dedit suas. Itaque quam diu vixerit habebit stigmam, nec illam nisi Orcus delebit. Sed sibi quisque peccat. Sed subolfacio quia nobis epulum daturus est Mammaea, binos denarios mihi et meis. Quod si hoc fecerit eripiat Norbano totum favorem. Scias oportet plenis velis hunc vinciturum. Et revera, quid ille nobis boni fecit? Dedit gladiatores sestertiarios iam decrepitos, quos si sufflasses, cecidissent: iam meliores bestiarios vidi. Occidit de lucerna equites, putares eos gallos gallinaceos. Alter burdubasta, alter loripes, tertiarius mortuus pro mortuo, qui habebat nervia praecisa. Unus alicuius flaturae fuit, Thraex, qui et ipse ad dictata pugnavit. Ad summam, omnes postea secti sunt: adeo de magna turba 'adhibete' acceperant. Plane fugae merae. 'Munus tamen' inquit 'tibi dedi,' et ego tibi plodo. Computa, et ego plus do quam accepi. Manus manum lavat. 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

"Videris mihi, Agamemnon, dicere 'Quid iste argutat molestus?' Quia tu qui potes loquere non loquis: non es nostrae fasciae et ideo pauperorum verba derides. Scimus te prae litteras fatuum esse. Quid ergo est? Aliqua die te persuadeam ut ad villam venias et videas casulas nostras? Inveniemus quod manducemus, 46 2

pullum, ova. Belle erit etiam si omnia hoc anno tempestas dispare pallavit. Inveniemus ergo unde saturi H
3 fiamus. Etiam tibi discipulus crescit cicaro meus. Iam quattuor partes dicit. Si vixerit habebis ad latus servulum. Nam quicquid illi vacat caput de tabula non tollit. Ingeniosus est et bono filo, etiam si in aves
4 morbosus est. Ego illi iam tres cardeles occidi et dixi
5 quia mustella comedit. Invenit tamen alias naenias et libentissime pingit. Ceterum iam Graeculis calcem impingit et Latinas coepit non male appetere, etiam si magister eius sibi placens sit, nec uno loco consistit,
6 sed venit, dem litteras, sed non vult laborare. Est et alter non quidem doctus, sed curiosus, qui plus docet quam scit. Itaque feriatis diebus solet domum venire,
7 et quicquid dederis contentus est. Emi ergo nunc puero aliquot libra rubricata, quia volo illum ad domusionem aliquid de iure gustare. Habet haec res panem. Nam litteris satis inquinatus est. Quod si resilierit, destinavi illum artificii docere, aut tonstreinum aut praeconem aut certe causidicum, quod illi auferre non possit nisi
8 Orcus. Ideo illi cotidie clamo, 'Primigeni, crede mihi, quicquid discis tibi discis. Vides Phileronem causidicum: si non didicisset hodie famem a labris non abigeret. Modo modo collo suo circumferebat onera venalia. Nunc etiam adversus Norbanum se extendit. Litterae thesaurum est et artificium numquam moritur.' "

TRIMALCHIO DESCRIBES HIS SYMPTOMS

47 Eiusmodi fabulae vibrabant cum Trimalchio intravit et detersa fronte unguento manus lavit spatioque
2 minimo interposito "ignoscite mihi" inquit "amici, multis iam diebus venter mihi non respondit. Nec medici se inveniunt. Profuit mihi tamen malicorium

H et taeda ex aceto. Spero tamen iam venter pudorem 3
sibi imponit. Alioquin circa stomachum mihi sonat,
putes taurum. Itaque si quis vestrum voluerit suae rei 4
causa facere, non est quod illum pudeatur. Nemo nos-
trum solide natus est. Ego nullum puto tam magnum 5
tormentum quam continere. Hoc solum vetare nec
Iovis potest. Rides, Fortunata, quae soles me nocte
desomnem facere? Nec tamen in triclinio ullum vetui
facere quod se iuvet, et medici vetant continere. Vel si
quid plus venit omnia foras parata sunt, aqua, lasani
et cetera minutalia. Credite mihi, anathymiasis in cere- 6
brum it et in toto corpore fluctum facit. Multos scio sic
perisse dum nolunt sibi verum dicere." Gratias agimus 7
liberalitati indulgentiaeque eius, et subinde castigamus
crebris potiunculis risum. Nec adhuc sciebamus nos in 8
medio lautitiarum quod aiunt clivo laborare. Nam cum
mundatis ad symphoniam mensis tres albi sues in
triclinium adducti sunt capistris et tintinnabulis culti,
quorum unum bimum nomenclator esse dicebat,
alterum trimum, tertium vero iam senem. Ego putabam 9
petauristarios intrasse et porcos sicut in circulis mos
est portenta aliqua facturos. Sed Trimalchio exspecta- 10
tione discussa "quem" inquit "ex eis vultis in cenam
statim fieri? Gallum enim gallinaceum, penthiacum et
eiusmodi naenias rustici faciunt; mei coci etiam vitulos
aeno coctos solent facere." Continuoque cocum vocari 11
iussit et non exspectata electione nostra maximum
natu iussit occidi. Et clara voce "ex quota decuria es?" 12
Cum ille se ex quadragesima respondisset, "empticius
an" inquit "domi natus?" "Neutrum" inquit cocus "sed
testamento Pansae tibi relictus sum." "Vide ergo" ait 13
"ut diligenter ponas. Si non, te iubebo in decuriam
viatorum conici." Et quidem cocum potentiae admoni-
tum in culinam obsonium duxit.

Trimalchio autem miti ad nos vultu respexit et 48

2 "vinum" inquit "si non placet mutabo. Vos illud H
oportet bonum faciatis. Deorum beneficio non emo, sed
nunc quicquid ad salivam facit in suburbano nascitur
eo quod ego adhuc non novi. Dicitur confine esse
3 Tarraciniensibus et Tarentinis. Nunc coniungere agellis
Siciliam volo, ut cum Africam libuerit ire per meos
4 fines navigem. Sed narra tu mihi, Agamemnon, quam
controversiam hodie declamasti? Ego autem si causas
non ago, in domusionem tamen litteras didici. Et ne
me putes studia fastiditum, tres bibliothecas habeo,
unam Graecam, alteram Latinam. Dic ergo si me amas
5 peristasim declamationis tuae." Cum dixisset Agamem-
non, "Pauper et dives inimici erant," ait Trimalchio
"Quid est pauper?" "Urbane" inquit Agamemnon, et
6 nescio quam controversiam exposuit. Statim Trimalchio
7 "hoc" inquit "si factum est, controversia non est. Si
factum non est, nihil est." Haec aliaque cum effusissi-
mis prosequeremur laudationibus, "rogo" inquit "Aga-
memnon mihi carissime, numquid duodecim aerumnas
Herculis tenes, aut de Ulixe fabulam, quemadmodum
illi Cyclops pollicem porricino extorsit? Solebam haec
8 ego puer apud Homerum legere. Nam Sibyllam quidem
Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere, et
cum illi pueri dicerent 'Σίβυλλα, τί θέλεις;', respon-
debat illa 'ἀποθανεῖν θέλω'."

THE COOK'S POOR MEMORY

49 Nondum efflaverat omnia, cum repositorium cum sue
2 ingenti mensam occupavit. Mirari nos celeritatem
3 coepimus et iurare ne gallum quidem gallinaceum tam
cito percoqui potuisse, tanto quidem magis quod longe
maior nobis porcus videbatur esse quam paulo ante
4 aper fuerat. Deinde magis magisque Trimalchio in-
tuens eum "Quid? Quid?" inquit "porcus hic non est

H exinteratus? Non mehercules est. Voca voca cocum in medio." Cum constitisset ad mensam cocus tristis et diceret se oblitum esse exinterare, "Quid? Oblitus?" Trimalchio exclamat, "putes illum piper et cuminum non coniecisse. Despolia." Non fit mora, despoliatur cocus atque inter duos tortores maestus consistit. Deprecari tamen omnes coeperunt et dicere "solet fieri; rogamus mittas; postea si fecerit, nemo nostrum pro illo rogabit." Ego, crudelissimae severitatis, non potui me tenere, sed inclinatus ad aurem Agamemnonis "plane" inquam "hic debet servus esse nequissimus; aliquis oblivisceretur porcum exinterare? Non mehercules illi ignoscerem si piscem praeterisset." At non Trimalchio, qui relaxato in hilaritatem vultu "ergo" inquit "quia tam malae memoriae es, palam nobis illum exintera." Recepta cocus tunica cultrum arripuit porcique ventrem hinc atque illinc timida manu secuit. Nec mora ex plagis ponderis inclinatione crescentibus tomacula cum botulis effusa sunt. Plausum post hoc automatum familia dedit et "Gaio feliciter" conclamavit. Nec non cocus potione oneratus est, etiam argentea corona poculumque in lance accepit Corinthia.

TRIMALCHIO EXPLAINS THE HISTORY OF CORINTHIAN WARE

Quam cum Agamemnon propius consideraret, ait Trimalchio: "Solus sum qui vera Corinthia habeam." Exspectabam ut pro reliqua insolentia diceret sibi vasa Corintho afferri. Sed ille melius et "forsitan" inquit "quaeris quare solus Corinthia vera possideam. Quia scilicet aerarius a quo emo Corinthus vocatur. Quid est autem Corinthium nisi quis Corinthum habeat? Et ne me putetis nesapium esse, valde bene scio unde

primum Corinthia nata sint. Cum Ilium captum est, H
Hannibal, homo vafer et magnus stelio, omnes statuas
aeneas et aureas et argenteas in unum rogum congessit
et eas incendit. Factae sunt in unum aera miscellanea.
6 Ita ex hac massa fabri sustulerunt et fecerunt catilla et
parapsides et statuncula. Sic Corinthia nata sunt, ex
7 omnibus in unum, nec hoc nec illud. Ignoscetis mihi
quid dixero: ego malo mihi vitrea, certe non olunt.
Quod si non frangerentur mallem mihi quam aurum.
51 Nunc autem vilia sunt. Fuit tamen faber qui fecit
2 phialam vitream quae non frangebatur. Admissus ergo
Caesarem est cum suo munere. Deinde fecit reporri-
gere Caesari et illam in pavimentum proiecit. Caesar
3 non pote valdius quam expavit. At ille sustulit phialam
4 de terra. Collisa erat tamquam vasum aeneum. Deinde
martiolum de sinu protulit et phialam otio belle cor-
5 rexit. Hoc facto putabat se coleum Iovis tenere. Utique
postquam Caesar illi dixit, 'Numquid alius scit hanc
6 condituram vitreorum?', vide modo. Postquam negavit,
iussit illum Caesar decollari, quia enim si scitum esset
52 aurum pro luto haberemus. In argento plane studiosus
sum. Habeo scyphos urnales plus minus *centum*, quem-
admodum Cassandra occidit filios suos et pueri
2 mortui iacent sic ut vivere putes. Habeo capides mille
quas reliquit patrono *meo* Mummius, ubi Daedalus
3 Niobam in equum Troianum includit. Nam Hermerotis
pugnas et Petraitis in poculis habeo, omnia ponderosa.
4 Meum enim intelligere nulla pecunia vendo." Haec
dum refert puer calicem proiecit. Ad quem respiciens
Trimalchio "cito" inquit "te ipsum caede quia nugax
5 es." Statim puer demisso labro orare. At ille "quid me"
inquit "rogas? Tamquam ego tibi molestus sim. Suadeo
a te impetres ne sis nugax." Tandem ergo exoratus a
6 nobis missionem dedit puero. Ille dimissus circa men-
sam percucurrit et "aquam foras, vinum intro" clama-

H vit. Excipimus urbanitatem iocantis, et ante omnes 7
Agamemnon, qui sciebat quibus meritis revocaretur ad
cenam. Ceterum laudatus Trimalchio hilarius bibit et 8
iam ebrio proximus "nemo" inquit "vestrum rogat
Fortunatam meam ut saltet? Credite mihi, cordacem
nemo melius ducit." Atque ipse erectis super frontem 9
manibus Syrum histrionem exhibebat concinente tota
familia "μάδεια περιμάδεια." Et prodisset in medium 10
nisi Fortunata ad aurem accessisset et credo dixerit
non decere gravitatem eius tam humiles ineptias. Nihil
autem tam inaequale erat: nam modo Fortunatam 11
suam *reverebatur,* revertebatur modo ad naturam.

THE NEWSPAPER IS READ

Et plane interpellavit saltationis libidinem actuarius, 53
qui tamquam urbis acta recitavit: "VII. Kalendas Sex- 2
tiles: in praedio Cumano quod est Trimalchionis, nati
sunt pueri XXX, puellae XL; sublata in horreum ex
area tritici milia modium quingenta; boves domiti
quingenti. Eodem die: Mithradates servus in crucem 3
actus est quia Gai nostri genio maledixerat. Eodem die: 4
in arcam relatum est quod collocari non potuit sester-
tium centies. Eodem die: incendium factum est in 5
hortis Pompeianis, ortum ex aedibus Nastae vilici."
"Quid?" inquit Trimalchio "quando mihi Pompeiani 6
horti empti sunt?" "Anno priore" inquit actuarius "et 7
ideo in rationem nondum venerunt." Excanduit Tri- 8
malchio et "quicumque" inquit "mihi fundi empti
fuerint, nisi intra sextum mensem sciero, in rationes
meas inferri vetuo." Iam etiam edicta aedilium recita- 9
bantur et saltuariorum testamenta quibus Trimalchio
cum elogio exheredabatur. Iam nomina vilicorum et 10
repudiata a circumitore liberta in balneatoris contu-
bernio deprehensa et atriensis Baias relegatus; iam reus

factus dispensator et iudicium inter cubicularios actum. H
11 Petauristarii autem tandem venerunt. Baro insulsissimus cum scalis constitit puerumque iussit per gradus et in summa parte odaria saltare, circulos deinde ardentes transire et dentibus amphoram sustinere.
12 Mirabatur haec solus Trimalchio dicebatque ingratum artificium esse. Ceterum duo esse in rebus humanis quae libentissime spectaret, petauristarios et cornicines.
13 Reliqua [animalia] acroamata tricas meras esse. "Nam et comoedos" inquit "emeram sed malui illos Atellanam facere, et choraulen meum iussi Latine cantare."

54 Cum maxime haec dicente Gaio puer Trimalchionis delapsus est. Conclamavit familia, nec minus convivae, non propter hominem tam putidum, cuius etiam cervices fractas libenter vidissent, sed propter malum exitum cenae, ne necesse haberent
2 alienum mortuum plorare. Ipse Trimalchio cum graviter ingemuisset superque brachium tamquam laesum incubuisset, concurrere medici et inter primos Fortunata crinibus passis, cum scypho, miseramque se atque
3 infelicem proclamavit. Nam puer quidem qui ceciderat circumibat iam dudum pedes nostros et missionem rogabat. Pessime mihi erat ne his precibus periculo nostro aliquid catastrophae quaereretur. Nec enim adhuc exciderat cocus ille qui oblitus fuerat porcum
4 exinterare. Itaque totum circumspicere triclinium coepi, ne per parietem automatum aliquod exiret, utique postquam servus verberari coepit qui brachium domini contusum alba potius quam conchyliata involverat
5 lana. Nec longe aberravit suspicio mea; in vicem poenae venit decretum Trimalchionis quo puerum iussit liberum esse, ne quis posset dicere tantum virum esse a servo vulneratum.

THE FRAILTY OF HUMAN LIFE

HLO/H ||Comprobamus nos factum || et quam in praecipiti 55
HLO/H res humanae essent || vario sermone garrimus. || "Ita" 2
inquit Trimalchio "non oportet hunc casum sine inscriptione transire," statimque codicillos poposcit et non diu cogitatione distorta haec recitavit:

HL || "Quod non exspectes ex transverso fit 3
Et super nos Fortuna negotia curat.
H || Quare da nobis vina Falerna, puer."

HLO Ab hoc epigrammate || poetarum coepit esse mentio 4
diuque summa carminis penes Mopsum Thracem memorata est donec 5
Trimalchio "rogo" inquit "magister, quid putas inter Ciceronem et Publilium interesse? Ego alterum puto disertiorem fuisse, alterum honestiorem. Quid enim his melius dici potest?

"Luxuriae rictu Martis marcent moenia. 6
Tuo palato clausus pavo nascitur
Plumato amictus aureo Babylonico,
Gallina tibi Numidica, tibi gallus spado;
Ciconia etiam, grata peregrina hospita 5
Pietaticultrix gracilipes crotalistria,
Avis exul hiemis, titulus tepidi temporis
Nequitiae nidum in caccabo fecit modo.
Quo margarita cara tibi, baca Indica?
An ut matrona ornata phaleris pelagiis 10
Tollat pedes indomita in strato extraneo?
Zmaragdum ad quam rem viridem, pretiosum vitrum?
Quo Carchedonios optas ignes lapideos?
Nisi ut scintillet probitas e carbunculis.
Aequum est induere nuptam ventum textilem, 15
Palam prostare nudam in nebula linea?"

56 || "Quod autem" inquit "putamus secundum litteras H
2 difficillimum esse artificium? Ego puto medicum et
nummularium: medicus qui scit quid homunciones
intra praecordia sua habeant et quando febris veniat,
3 etiam si illos odi pessime quod mihi iubent anatinam
4 parari; nummularius qui per argentum aes videt. Nam
mutae bestiae laboriosissimae boves et oves: boves
quorum beneficio panem manducamus; oves quod lana
5 illae nos gloriosos faciunt. Et facinus indignum, aliquis
6 ovillam est et tunicam habet. Apes enim ego divinas
bestias puto, quae mel vomunt, etiam si dicuntur illud
a Iove afferre. || Ideo autem pungunt quia ubicumque HL
dulce est ibi et acidum invenies."

FAVORS ARE DISTRIBUTED

7 || Iam etiam philosophos de negotio deiciebat, cum H
8 pittacia in scypho circumferri coeperunt, puerque super
hoc positus officium apophoreta recitavit: "Argentum
sceleratum": allata est perna supra quam acetabula
erant posita; "cervical": offla collaris allata est;
"serisapia et contumelia": xerophagiae e sapa datae
9 sunt et contus cum malo; "porri et Persica": flagellum
et cultrum accepit; "passeres et muscarium": uvam
passam et mel Atticum; "cenatoria et forensia": offlam
et tabulas accepit; "canalem et pedalem": lepus et
solea est allata; "muraena et littera": murem cum rana
10 alligatum fascemque betae *accepit*. Diu risimus:
sescenta huiusmodi fuerunt quae iam exciderunt me-
moriae meae.

ASCYLTOS GETS INTO TROUBLE

57 Ceterum Ascyltos, intemperantis licentiae, cum omnia
sublatis manibus eluderet et usque ad lacrimas rideret,

H unus ex collibertis Trimalchionis excanduit, is ipse qui super me discumbebat, et "quid rides" inquit "berbex? An tibi non placent lautitiae domini mei? Tu enim 2
beatior es et convivare melius soles. Ita tutelam huius loci habeam propitiam ut ego si secundum illum discumberem iam illi balatum duxissem. Bellum pomum 3
qui rideatur alios, larifuga, nescio quis nocturnus, qui non valet lotium suum. Ad summam, si circumminxero illum nesciet qua fugiat. Non mehercules soleo cito fervere, sed in molle carne vermes nascuntur. Ridet. 4
Quid habet quod rideat? Numquid pater fetum emit lamna? Eques Romanus es: et ego regis filius. 'Quare ergo servivisti?' Quia ipse me dedi in servitutem et malui civis Romanus esse quam tributarius. Et nunc spero me sic vivere ut nemini iocus sim. Homo inter 5
homines sum, capite aperto ambulo, assem aerarium nemini debeo, constitutum habui numquam, nemo mihi in foro dicit 'redde quod debes.' Glebulas emi, lamel- 6
lulas paravi, viginti ventres pasco et canem. Contubernalem meam redemi, ne quis in *sinu* illius manus tergeret. Mille denarios pro capite solvi. Sevir gratis factus sum. Spero sic moriar ut mortuus non erubescam. Tu autem tam laboriosus es ut post te non 7
respicias. In alio peduclum vides, in te ricinum non vides. Tibi soli ridiclei videmur: ecce magister tuus, 8
homo maior natus: placemus illi. Tu lacticulosus es, nec mu nec ma argutas, vasus fictilis, immo lorus in aqua, lentior non melior. Tu beatior es: bis prande, bis 9
cena. Ego fidem meam malo quam thesauros. Ad summam, quisquam me bis poposcit? Annis quadraginta servivi, nemo tamen sciit utrum servus essem an liber. Et puer capillatus in hanc coloniam veni (adhuc basilica non erat facta). Dedi tamen operam ut domino 10
satisfacerem, homini maiiesto et dignitosso, cuius pluris erat unguis quam tu totus es. Et habebam in

domo qui mihi pedem opponerent hac illac, tamen— H
11 genio illius gratias—enatavi. Haec sunt vera athla, nam in ingenuum nasci tam facile est quam 'accede istoc.' Quid nunc stupes tamquam hircus in ervilia?"

GITON SHARES THE SCOLDING

58 Post hoc dictum Giton qui ad pedes stabat risum iam diu compressum etiam indecenter effudit. Quod cum
2 animadvertisset adversarius Ascylti, flexit convicium in puerum et "tu autem" inquit "etiam tu rides, cepa cirrata? Io Saturnalia, rogo mensis December est? Quando vicesimam numerasti? Quid faciat, crucis offla, corvorum cibaria. Curabo iam tibi Iovis
3 iratus sit et isti qui tibi non imperat. Ita satur pane fiam, ut ego istud colliberto meo dono; alioquin iam tibi depraesentiarum reddidissem. Bene nos habemus et iste—
4 euge!—qui tibi non imperat. Plane qualis dominus talis et servus. Vix me teneo, nec sum natura caldicerebrius, sed cum coepi matrem meam dupondii non facio. Recte, videbo te in publicum, mus, immo terrae tuber.
5 Nec sursum nec deorsum non cresco nisi dominum tuum in rutae folium non conieci. Nec tibi parsero, licet mehercules Iovem Olympium clames. Curabo longe tibi
6 sit comula ista besalis et dominus duponduarius. Recte, venies sub dentem aut ego non me novi, aut non
7 deridebis licet barbam auream habeas. Athana tibi irata sit curabo et qui te primus deurode fecit. Non didici geometrias, critica et alogias nenias, sed lapidarias litteras scio, partes centum dico ad aes, ad
8 pondus, ad nummum. Ad summam, si quid vis, ego et tu sponsiunculam: exi, defero lamnam. Iam scies patrem tuum mercedem perdidisse, quamvis et rhetoricam scis. Ecce: 'qui de nobis: longe venio, late
9 venio. Solve me.' Dicam tibi: qui de nobis currit et

H de loco non movetur; qui de nobis crescit et minor fit. Curris, stupes, satagis, tamquam mus in matella. Ergo 10
aut tace aut meliorem noli molestare, qui te natum non putat, nisi si me iudicas anulos buxeos curare quos amicae tuae involasti. Occuponem propitium. Eamus in 11
forum et pecunias mutuemur. Iam scies hoc ferrum fidem habere. Vah, bella res est vulpis uda. Ita lucrum 12
faciam et ita bene moriar aut populus per exitum meum iuret, nisi te ubique toga perversa fuero persecutus. Bella res et iste qui te haec docet, mufrius 13
non magister. Didicimus: dicebat enim magister 'sunt vestra salva? Recta domum. Cave circumspicias. Cave maiorem maledicas.' At nunc mera mapalia; nemo dupondii evadit. Ego, quod me sic vides, propter 14
artificium meum diis gratias ago."

TRIMALCHIO STOPS THE QUARREL

Coeperat Ascyltos respondere convicio, sed Trimal- 59
chio delectatus colliberti eloquentia "agite" inquit "scordalias de medio. Suaviter sit potius, et tu, Hermeros, parce adolescentulo. Sanguen illi fervet. Tu melior
HL/H esto. || Semper in hac re qui vincitur vincit. || Et tu 2
cum esses capo, cocococo, atque cor non habebas. Simus ergo, quod melius est, a primitiis hilares et Homeristas spectemus." Intravit factio statim has- 3
tisque scuta concrepuit. Ipse Trimalchio in pulvino consedit et cum Homeristae Graecis versibus colloquerentur, ut insolenter solent, ille canora voce Latine legebat librum. Mox silentio facto "scitis" inquit "quam fabulam agant? Diomedes et Ganymedes duo fratres 4
fuerunt. Horum soror erat Helena. Agamemnon illam rapuit et Dianae cervam subiecit. Ita nunc Homerus dicit quemadmodum inter se pugnent Troiani et Parentini. Vicit scilicet et Iphigeniam filiam suam 5

Achilli dedit uxorem. Ob eam rem Aiax insanit et H
statim argumentum explicabit."

6 Haec ut dixit Trimalchio, clamorem Homeristae sustulerunt interque familiam discurrentem vitulus in lance donaria elixus allatus est, et quidem galeatus.
7 Secutus est Aiax strictoque gladio, tamquam insaniret, concidit, ac modo versa modo supina gesticulatus mucrone frusta collegit mirantibusque vitulum partitus
60 est. Nec diu mirari licuit tam elegantes strophas, nam repente lacunaria sonare coeperunt totumque triclinium
2 intremuit. Consternatus ego exsurrexi et timui ne per tectum petauristarius aliquis descenderet. Nec minus reliqui convivae mirantes erexere vultus, exspectantes
3 quid novi de caelo nuntiaretur. Ecce autem deductus lacunaribus subito circulus ingens de cupa videlicet grandi excussus demittitur, cuius per totum orbem coronae aureae cum alabastris unguenti pendebant.
4 Dum haec apophoreta iubemur sumere, respiciens ad mensam iam illic repositorium cum placentis aliquot erat positum, quod medium Priapus a pistore factus tenebat, gremioque satis amplo omnis
5 generis poma et uvas sustinebat more vulgato. Avidius ad pompam manus porreximus, sed repente nova
6 ludorum remissio hilaritatem hic refecit. Omnes enim placentae omniaque poma etiam minima vexatione contacta coeperunt effundere crocum et usque ad os
7 molestus umor accidere. Rati ergo sacrum esse periculum tam religioso apparatu perfusum, consurreximus altius et "Augusto patri patriae feliciter" diximus. Quibusdam tamen etiam post hanc venerationem poma rapientibus et ipsas mappas implevimus, ego praecipue, qui nullo satis amplo munere putabam me onerare
8 Gitonis sinum. Inter haec tres pueri candidas succincti tunicas intraverunt, quorum duo Lares bullatos super mensam posuerunt, unus pateram vini circum-

H ferens "dii propitii" clamabat. Aiebat autem unum Cerdonem, alterum Felicionem, tertium Lucronem vocari. Nos etiam veram imaginem ipsius Trimal- 9
chionis cum iam omnes basiarent erubuimus praeterire.

GHOST STORIES

Postquam ergo omnes bonam mentem bonamque 61
valitudinem sibi optarunt, Trimalchio ad Nicerotem
respexit et "solebas" inquit "suavis esse in convictu; 2
nescio quid nunc taces nec muttis. Oro te, sic felicem
me videas, narra illud quod tibi usu venit." Niceros 3
delectatus adfabilitate amici "omnem me" inquit
"lucrum transeat nisi iam dudum gaudimonio dissilio
quod te talem video. Itaque hilaria mera sint, et si 4
timeo istos scholasticos ne me derideant. Viderint:
narrabo tamen. Quid enim mihi aufert qui ridet?
Satius est rideri quam derideri." "Haec ubi dicta dedit" 5
talem fabulam exorsus est. "Cum adhuc servirem 6
habitabamus in vico angusto (nunc Gavillae domus
est). Ibi quomodo dii volunt, amare coepi uxorem
Terentii coponis. Noveratis Melissam Tarentinam,
pulcherrimum bacciballum. Sed ego non mehercules 7
corporaliter eam aut propter res venerias curavi, sed
magis quod benemoria fuit. Si quid ab illa petii num- 8
quam mihi negatum; fecit assem, semissem habui;
quicquid habui in illius sinum demandavi nec umquam
fefellitus sum. Huius contubernalis ad villam 9
supremum diem obiit. Itaque per scutum per ocream
egi aginavi quemadmodum ad illam pervenirem: autem
in angustiis amici apparent. Forte dominus Capuae 62
exierat ad scruta scita expedienda. Nactus ego occa- 2
sionem persuadeo hospitem nostrum ut mecum ad
quintum miliarium veniat. Erat autem miles, fortis
tamquam Orcus. Apoculamus nos circa gallicinia, 3

4 luna lucebat tamquam meridie. Venimus inter monu- H
menta. Homo meus coepit ad stelas facere, sedeoque
5 cantabundus et stelas numero. Deinde ut respexi ad
comitem, ille exuit se et omnia vestimenta secundum
viam posuit. Mihi anima in naso esse. Stabam tam-
6 quam mortuus. At ille circumminxit vestimenta sua et
subito lupus factus est. Nolite me iocari putare: ut
7 mentiar nullius patrimonium tanti facio. Sed quod
coeperam dicere, postquam lupus factus est, ululare
8 coepit et in silvas fugit. Ego primitus nesciebam ubi
essem, deinde accessi ut vestimenta eius tollerem: illa
autem lapidea facta sunt. Qui mori timore nisi ego?
9 Gladium tamen strinxi et—mata vita tau!—umbras
10 cecidi donec ad villam amicae meae pervenirem. In
larvam intravi; paene animam ebullivi; sudor mihi per
bifurcum volabat; oculi mortui; vix umquam refectus
11 sum. Melissa mea mirari coepit quod tam sero ambu-
larem et 'si ante' inquit 'venisses, saltem nobis adiu-
tasses. Lupus enim villam intravit et omnia pecora
tamquam lanius sanguinem illis misit. Nec tamen
derisit etiam si fugit. Servus enim noster lancea collum
12 eius traiecit.' Haec ut audivi, operire oculos amplius
non potui, sed luce clara Gai nostri domum fugi
tamquam copo compilatus. Et postquam veni in illum
locum in quo lapidea vestimenta erant facta, nihil
13 inveni nisi sanguinem. Ut vero domum veni, iacebat
miles meus in lecto tamquam bovis et collum illius
medicus curabat. Intellexi illum versipellem esse nec
postea cum illo panem gustare potui, non si me occi-
14 disses. Viderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent. Ego si
mentiar, genios vestros iratos habeam."

63 Attonitis admiratione universis "salvo" inquit "tuo
sermone" Trimalchio "si qua fides est, ut mihi pili
inhorruerunt, quia scio Niceronem nihil nugarum
2 narrare. Immo certus est et minime linguosus. Nam et

H ipse vobis rem horribilem narrabo. Asinus in tegulis. Cum adhuc capillatus essem, nam a puero vitam Chiam gessi, ipsimi nostri delicatus decessit, mehercules margaritum, caccitus et omnium numerum. Cum ergo illum mater misella plangeret et nos tum plures in tristimonio essemus, subito strigae coeperunt: putares canem leporem persequi. Habebamus tunc hominem Cappadocem, longum, valde audaculum, et qui valebat! Poterat Iovem iratum tollere. Hic audacter stricto gladio extra ostium procucurrit involuta manu sinistra curiose, et mulierem tamquam hoc loco (salvum sit quod tango) mediam traiecit. Audimus gemitum et, plane non mentiar, ipsas non vidimus. Baro autem noster introversus se proiecit in lectum et corpus totum lividum habebat quasi flagellis caesus: quia scilicet illum tetigerat mala manus. Nos cluso ostio redimus iterum ad officium, sed dum mater amplexaret corpus filii sui, tangit et videt manuciolum de stramentis factum. Non cor habebat, non intestina, non quicquam. Scilicet iam puerum strigae involaverant et supposuerant stramenticium vavatonem. Rogo vos, oportet credatis. Sunt mulieres plussciae, sunt nocturnae, et quod sursum est deorsum faciunt. Ceterum baro ille longus post hoc factum numquam coloris sui fuit; immo post paucos dies phreneticus periit."

Miramur nos et pariter credimus, osculatique mensam rogamus Nocturnas ut suis se teneant dum redimus a cena. Et sane iam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere totumque triclinium esse mutatum, cum Trimalchio "tibi dico" inquit "Plocame, nihil narras? Nihil nos delectaris? Et solebas suavis esse, belle diverbia dicere, melica canturire. Heu heu, abistis dulcis caricae." "Iam" inquit ille "quadrigae meae decucurrerunt ex quo podagricus factus sum. Alioquin cum essem adolescentulus cantando paene tisicus

4 factus sum. Quid saltare? Quid diverbia? Quid H
tonstrinum? Quem parem habui nisi unum Apelletem?"
5 Oppositaque ad os manu nescio quid taetrum exsibila-
vit quod postea Graecum esse affirmabat. Nec non
Trimalchio ipse cum tubicines esset imitatus, ad
6 delicias suas respexit, quem Croesum appellabat. Puer
autem lippus, sordidissimis dentibus, catellam nigram
atque indecenter pinguem prasina involvebat fascia
panemque semissem ponebat super torum, atque hac
7 nausea recusantem saginabat. Quo admonitus officio
Trimalchio Scylacem iussit adduci "praesidium domus
familiaeque." Nec mora ingentis formae adductus est
canis catena vinctus admonitusque ostiarii calce ut
8 cubaret, ante mensam se posuit. Tum Trimalchio
iactans candidum panem "nemo" inquit "in domo mea
9 me plus amat." Indignatus puer quod Scylacem tam
effuse laudaret, catellam in terram deposuit hortatusque
ut ad rixam properaret. Scylax canino scilicet usus
ingenio taeterrimo latratu triclinium implevit Marga-
10 ritamque Croesi paene laceravit. Nec intra rixam
tumultus constitit, sed candelabrum etiam super men-
sam eversum et vasa omnia crystallina comminuit et
11 oleo ferventi aliquot convivas respersit. Trimalchio
ne videretur iactura motus, basiavit puerum ac iussit
12 super dorsum ascendere suum. Non moratus ille usus
equo, manuque plena scapulas eius subinde verberavit
interque risum proclamavit, "Bucca bucca quot sunt
13 hic?" Repressus ergo aliquamdiu Trimalchio camellam
grandem iussit misceri potionesque dividi omnibus
servis qui ad pedes sedebant, adiecta exceptione, "si
quis" inquit "noluerit accipere, caput illi perfunde.
Interdiu severa, nunc hilaria."

A LATE-COMER ARRIVES

H Hanc humanitatem insecutae sunt matteae, quarum 65
etiam recordatio me, si qua est dicenti fides, offendit.
Singulae enim gallinae altiles pro turdis circumlatae 2
sunt, et ova anserina pilleata, quae ut comessemus
ambitiossime a nobis Trimalchio petiit, dicens exossatas
esse gallinas. Inter haec triclinii valvas lictor percussit, 3
amictusque veste alba, cum ingenti frequentia,
comissator intravit. Ego maiestate conterritus prae- 4
torem putabam venisse. Itaque temptavi assurgere et
nudos pedes in terram deferre. Risit hanc trepida- 5
tionem Agamemnon et "contine te" inquit "homo
stultissime. Habinnas sevir est idemque lapidarius qui
videretur monumenta optime facere." Recreatus hoc 6
sermone reposui cubitum Habinnamque intrantem cum
admiratione ingenti spectabam. Ille autem iam ebrius 7
uxoris suae humeris imposuerat manus, oneratusque
aliquot coronis et unguento per frontem in oculos
fluente, praetorio loco se posuit continuoque vinum et
caldam poposcit. Delectatus hac Trimalchio hilaritate, 8
et ipse capaciorem poposcit scyphum quaesivitque
quomodo acceptus esset. "Omnia" inquit "habuimus 9
praeter te. Oculi enim mei hic erant. Et mehercules
bene fuit. Scissa lotum novemdiale servo suo misello 10
faciebat, quem mortuum manumiserat. Et puto cum
vicesimariis magnam mantissam habet; quinquaginta
enim milibus aestimant mortuum. Sed tamen suaviter 11
fuit, etiam si coacti sumus dimidias potiones supra
ossucula eius effundere." "Tamen" inquit Trimalchio 66
"quid habuistis in cena?" "Dicam" inquit "si potuero,
nam tam bonae memoriae sum ut frequenter nomen
meum obliviscar. Habuimus tamen in primo porcum 2
poculo coronatum et circa savunculum et gizeria optime
facta et certe betam et panem autopyrum de suo sibi,

quem ego malo quam candidum. Et vires facit et cum H
3 meae rei causa facio non ploro. Sequens ferculum fuit scriblita frigida et supra mel caldum infusum excellente Hispanum. Itaque de scriblita quidem non minimum
4 edi, de melle me usque tetigi. Circa cicer et lupinum, calvae arbitratu et mala singula. Ego tamen duo sustuli et ecce in mappa alligata habeo, nam si aliquid muneris meo vernulae non tulero, habebo convicium.

5 "Bene me admonet domina mea. In prospectu habuimus ursinae frustum, de quo cum imprudens Scintilla
6 gustasset, paene intestina sua vomuit. Ego contra plus libram comedi, nam ipsum aprum sapiebat, et si, inquam, ursus homuncionem comest, quanto magis
7 homuncio debet ursum comesse? In summo habuimus caseum mollem e sapa et cochleas singulas et cordae frusta et hepatia in catillis et ova pilleata et rapam et senape et catillum concacatum, pax Palamedes. Etiam in alveo circumlata sunt oxycomina, unde quidam etiam improbe ternos pugnos sustulerunt. Nam pernae
67 missionem dedimus. Sed narra mihi, Gai, rogo, For-
2 tunata quare non recumbit?" "Quomodo nosti" inquit "illam" Trimalchio "nisi argentum composuerit, nisi reliquias pueris diviserit, aquam in os suum non
3 coniciet." "Atqui" respondit Habinnas "nisi illa discumbit ego me apoculo" et coeperat surgere nisi signo dato "Fortunata" quater amplius a tota familia esset vocata.

FORTUNATA COMES TO THE TABLE

4 Venit ergo galbino succincta cingillo ita ut infra cerasina appareret tunica et periscelides tortae
5 phaecasiaeque inauratae. Tunc sudario manus tergens quod in collo habebat applicat se illi toro in quo Scintilla Habinnae discumbebat uxor osculataque

H plaudentem "est te" inquit "videre?" Eo deinde perventum est ut Fortunata armillas suas crassissimis detraheret lacertis Scintillaeque miranti ostenderet. Ultimo etiam periscelides resolvit et reticulum aureum quem ex obrussa esse dicebat. Notavit haec Trimalchio iussitque afferri omnia et "videtis" inquit "mulieris compedes. Sic nos barcalae despoliamur. Sex pondo et selibram debet habere. Et ipse nihilominus habeo decem pondo armillam ex millesimis Mercurii factam." Ultimo etiam ne mentiri videretur, stateram iussit afferri et circumlatum approbari pondus. Nec melior Scintilla quae de cervice sua capsellam detraxit aureolam quam Felicionem appellabat. Inde duo crotalia protulit et Fortunatae invicem consideranda dedit et "domini" inquit "mei beneficio nemo habet meliora." "Quid" inquit Habinnas "excatarissasti me ut tibi emerem fabam vitream? Plane, si filiam haberem auriculas illi praeciderem. Mulieres si non essent omnia pro luto haberemus. Nunc hoc est caldum meiere et frigidum potare." Interim mulieres sauciae inter se riserunt ebriaeque iunxerunt oscula, dum altera diligentiam matris familiae iactat, altera delicias et indiligentiam viri. Dumque sic cohaerent, Habinnas furtim consurrexit pedesque Fortunatae correptos super lectum immisit. "Au au" illa proclamavit aberrante tunica super genua. Composita ergo in gremio Scintillae indecens imam rubore faciem sudario abscondit.

DESSERT IS SERVED

Interposito deinde spatio cum secundas mensas Trimalchio iussisset afferri, sustulerunt servi omnes mensas et alias attulerunt, scobemque croco et minio tinctam sparserunt et, quod numquam ante videram, ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum. Statim Trimalchio

"poteram quidem" inquit "hoc fericulo esse contentus. H
Secundas enim mensas habetis. Si quid belli habes
3 affer." Interim puer Alexandrinus qui caldam minis-
trabat luscinias coepit imitari clamante Trimalchione
4 subinde "muta". Ecce alius ludus. Servus qui ad pedes
Habinnae sedebat, iussus credo a domino suo, pro-
clamavit subito canora voce

"Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat."

5 Nullus sonus umquam acidior percussit aures meas, nam
praeter errantis barbariae aut adiectum aut deminutum
clamorem miscebat Atellanicos versus, ut tunc primum
6 me etiam Vergilius offenderit. Lassus tamen cum
aliquando desisset, adiecit Habinnas "et numquam
didicit, sed ego ad circulatores eum mittendo erudibam.
7 Itaque parem non habet sive muliones volet sive cir-
culatores imitari. Desperatum valde ingeniosus est:
idem sutor est, idem cocus, idem pistor, omnis Musae
8 mancipium. Duo tamen vitia habet; quae si non
haberet esset omnium numerum: recutitus est et
stertit. Nam quod strabonus est, non curo. Sicut Venus
spectat. Ideo nihil tacet, vix oculo mortuo umquam.
69 Illum emi trecentis denariis." Interpellavit loquentem
Scintilla et "plane" inquit "non omnia artificia servi
nequam narras. Agaga est. At curabo stigmam
2 habeat." Risit Trimalchio et "adcognosco" inquit
"Cappadocem. Nihil sibi defraudit. Et mehercules
3 laudo illum. Hoc enim nemo parentat. Tu autem,
Scintilla, noli zelotypa esse. Crede mihi, et vos novi-
mus. Sic me salvum habeatis, ut ego sic solebam
ipsimam meam debatuere ut etiam dominus suspi-
caretur et ideo me in vilicationem relegavit. Sed tace,
lingua, dabo panem."

4 Tamquam laudatus esset nequissimus servus, lucer-
nam de sinu fictilem protulit et amplius semihora tubi-

H cines imitatus est, succinente Habinna et inferius labrum manu deprimente. Ultimo etiam in medium processit et modo harundinibus quassis choraulas imitatus est, modo lacernatus cum flagello mulionum fata egit, donec vocatum ad se Habinnas basiavit potionemque illi porrexit et "tanto melior" inquit "Massa, dono tibi caligas." Nec ullus tot malorum finis fuisset, nisi epidipnis esset allata, turdi siligine, uvis passis nucibusque farsi. Insecuta sunt Cydonia etiam mala spinis confixa ut echinos efficerent. Et haec quidem tolerabilia erant, si non ferculum longe monstruosius effecisset ut vel fame perire mallemus. Nam cum positus esset, ut nos putabamus, anser altilis circaque pisces et omnium genera avium, inquit Trimalchio "quicquid videtis hic positum de uno corpore est factum." Ego scilicet homo prudentissimus statim intellexi quid esset et respiciens Agamemnonem "mirabor" inquam "nisi omnia ista de *cera* facta sunt aut certe de luto. Vidi Romae Saturnalibus eiusmodi cenarum imaginem fieri." Necdum finieram sermonem cum Trimalchio ait: "Ita crescam patrimonio, non corpore, ut ista cocus meus de porco fecit. Non potest esse pretiosior homo. Volueris, de vulva faciet piscem, de lardo palumbum, de perna turturem, de colaepio gallinam. Et ideo ingenio meo impositum est illi nomen bellissimum, nam Daedalus vocatur. Et quia bonam mentem habet, attuli illi Roma munus cultros Norico ferro", quos statim iussit afferri inspectosque miratus est. Etiam nobis potestatem fecit ut mucronem ad buccam probaremus. Subito intraverunt duo servi tamquam qui rixam ad lacum fecissent, certe in collo adhuc amphoras habebant. Cum ergo Trimalchio ius inter litigantes diceret, neuter sententiam tulit decernentis, sed alterius amphoram fuste percussit. Consternati nos insolentia ebriorum intentavimus oculos in proeliantes notavimusque

decuriis Romae esse, tamen noluit. Pius, fortis, fidelis, H
ex parvo crevit, sestertium reliquit trecenties, nec umquam philosophum audivit. Vale: et tu.'"

Haec ut dixit Trimalchio flere coepit ubertim. Flebat et Fortunata. Flebat et Habinnas. Tota denique familia tamquam in funus rogata lamentatione triclinium implevit. Immo iam coeperam etiam ego plorare, cum Trimalchio "ergo" inquit "cum sciamus nos morituros esse, quare non vivamus? Sic vos felices videam, coniciamus nos in balneum. Meo periculo, non paenitebit. Sic calet tamquam furnus." "Vero vero" inquit Habinnas "de una die duas facere nihil malo" nudisque consurrexit pedibus et Trimalchionem gaudentem subsequi *coepit*. Ego respiciens ad Ascylton "quid cogitas?" inquam. "Ego enim si videro balneum statim expirabo." "Assentemur" ait ille "et dum illi balneum petunt nos in turba exeamus." Cum haec placuissent, ducente per porticum Gitone ad ianuam venimus, ubi canis catenarius tanto nos tumultu excepit ut Ascyltos etiam in piscinam ceciderit. Nec non ego quoque ebrius, qui etiam pictum timueram canem, dum natanti opem fero, in eundem gurgitem tractus sum. Servavit nos tamen atriensis, qui interventu suo et canem placavit et nos trementes extraxit in siccum. Et Giton quidem iam dudum se ratione acutissima redemerat a cane: quicquid enim a nobis acceperat de cena latranti sparserat. At ille avocatus cibo furorem suppresserat. Ceterum cum algentes utique petissemus ab atriensi ut nos extra ianuam emitteret, "erras" inquit "si putas te exire hac posse qua venisti. Nemo umquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est. Alia intrant, alia exeunt."

73 Quid faciamus homines miserrimi et novi generis labyrintho inclusi, quibus lavari iam coeperat votum esse? Ultro ergo rogavimus ut nos ad balneum duceret,

H proiectisque vestimentis quae Giton in aditu siccare coepit, balneum intravimus angustum scilicet et cisternae frigidariae simile, in quo Trimalchio rectus stabat. Ac ne sic quidem putidissimam eius iactationem licuit effugere, nam nihil melius esse dicebat quam sine turba lavari, et eo ipso loco aliquando pistrinum fuisse. Deinde ut lassatus consedit, invitatus balnei 3
sono diduxit usque ad cameram os ebrium et coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare, sicut illi dicebant qui linguam eius intelligebant. Ceteri convivae circa 4
labrum manibus nexis currebant et gingilipho ingenti clamore exsonabant, alii autem aut restrictis manibus anulos de pavimento conabantur tollere, aut posito genu cervices post terga flectere, et pedum extremos pollices tangere. Nos dum alii sibi ludos faciunt in 5
solium quod Trimalchioni parabatur descendimus. Ergo ebrietate discussa in aliud triclinium deducti sumus ubi Fortunata disposuerat lautitias suas ita ut super lucernas aeneolosque piscatores notaverim et mensas totas argenteas calicesque circa fictiles inauratos et vinum in conspectu sacco defluens. Tum Tri- 6
malchio "amici," inquit "hodie servus meus barbatoriam fecit, homo praefiscini frugi et micarius. Itaque tangomenas faciamus et usque in lucem cenemus." Haec dicente eo gallus gallinaceus cantavit. 74
Qua voce confusus Trimalchio vinum sub mensa iussit 2
effundi, lucernamque etiam mero spargi, immo anulum traiecit in dexteram manum et "non sine causa" inquit "hic bucinus signum dedit. Nam aut incendium 3
oportet fiat aut aliquis in vicinia animam abiciet. Longe a nobis. Itaque quisquis hunc indicem attulerit corollarium accipiet." Dicto citius de vicinia gallus 4
allatus est, quem Trimalchio iussit ut aeno coctus fieret. Laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco, qui 5
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allatus est, quem Trimalchio iussit ut aeno coctus fieret. Laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco, qui 5
paulo ante de porco aves piscesque fecerat, in

caccabum est coniectus. Dumque Daedalus potionem H
ferventissimam haurit Fortunata mola buxea piper
6 trivit. Sumptis igitur matteis respiciens ad familiam
Trimalchio "quid vos" inquit "adhuc non cenastis?
7 Abite ut alii veniant ad officium." Subiit igitur alia
classis, et illi quidem exclamavere "Vale, Gai," hi
autem "Ave, Gai."

A FAMILY QUARREL

8 Hinc primum hilaritas nostra turbata est, nam cum
puer non inspeciosus inter novos intrasset ministros,
invasit eum Trimalchio et osculari diutius coepit.
9 Itaque Fortunata ut ex aequo ius firmum approbaret,
maledicere Trimalchionem coepit et purgamentum
dedecusque praedicare qui non contineret libidinem
10 suam. Ultimo etiam adiecit: "Canis." Trimalchio
contra offensus convicio calicem in faciem Fortunatae
11 immisit. Illa tamquam oculum perdidisset exclamavit
12 manusque trementes ad faciem suam admovit. Con-
sternata est etiam Scintilla trepidantemque sinu suo
texit. Immo puer quoque officiosus urceolum frigidum
ad malam eius admovit, super quem incumbens For-
13 tunata gemere ac flere coepit. Contra Trimalchio "quid
enim" inquit "ambubaia non meminit sed de machilla
illam sustuli, hominem inter homines feci. At inflat
se tamquam rana, et in sinum suum non spuit, codex
non mulier. Sed hic qui in pergula natus est aedes non
14 somniatur. Ita genium meum propitium habeam,
15 curabo domata sit Cassandra caligaria. Et ego, homo
duponduarius, sestertium centies accipere potui. Scis
tu me non mentiri. Agatho unguentarius herae proxi-
mae seduxit me et 'suadeo' inquit 'non patiaris genus
16 tuum interire.' At ego dum bonatus ago et nolo videri
levis, ipse mihi asciam in crus impegi. Recte, curabo

H me unguibus quaeras. Et ut depraesentiarum intelligas 17
quid tibi feceris, Habinna, nolo statuam eius in monumento meo ponas, ne mortuus quidem lites habeam. Immo ut sciat me posse malum dare, nolo me mortuum basiet."

Post hoc fulmen, Habinnas rogare coepit ut iam 75
HL desineret irasci et || "nemo" inquit "non nostrum
H peccat. Homines sumus non dii." || Idem et Scintilla 2
flens dixit ac per genium eius, Gaium appellando, rogare coepit ut se frangeret. Non tenuit ultra 3
lacrimas Trimalchio et "rogo" inquit "Habinna, sic peculium tuum fruniscaris, si quid perperam feci, in faciem meam inspue. Puerum basiavi frugalissimum 4
non propter formam sed quia frugi est. Decem partes dicit. Librum ab oculo legit. Thraecium sibi de diariis fecit. Arcisellium de suo paravit et duas trullas. Non 5
est dignus quem in oculis feram? Sed Fortunata vetat. Ita videtur, fulcipedia? Suadeo bonum tuum concoquas, milva. Et me non facias ringentem, amasiuncula. 6
Alioquin experieris cerebrum meum. Nosti me: quod 7
semel destinavi clavo tabulari fixum est. Sed vivorum 8
meminerimus. Vos rogo, amici, ut vobis suaviter sit. Nam ego quoque tam fui quam vos estis, sed virtute mea ad hoc perveni. Corcillum est quod homines facit, cetera quisquilia omnia. Bene emo, bene vendo. Alius alia vobis dicet. Felicitate dissilio. Tu autem, sterteia, 9
etiamnum ploras? Iam curabo fatum tuum plores. Sed ut coeperam dicere, ad hanc me fortunam frugali- 10
tas mea perduxit. Tam magnus ex Asia veni quam hic candelabrus est. Ad summam, cotidie me solebam ad illum metiri. Et ut celerius rostrum barbatum haberem, labra de lucerna unguebam. Tamen ad delicias 11
[femina] ipsimi domini annos quattuordecim fui. Nec turpe est quod dominus iubet. Ego tamen et ipsimae dominae satisfaciebam. Scitis quid dicam. Taceo quia

76 non sum de gloriosis. Ceterum quemadmodum dii H
volunt, dominus in domo factus sum. Et ecce cepi
2 ipsimi cerebellum. Quid multa? Coheredem me Caesari
3 fecit, et accepi patrimonium laticlavium. Nemini
tamen nihil satis est. Concupivi negotiari. Ne multis
vos morer, quinque naves aedificavi, oneravi vinum—
4 et tunc erat contra aurum—misi Romam. Putares me
hoc iussisse. Omnes naves naufragarunt. Factum, non
fabula. Uno die Neptunus trecenties sestertium
5 devoravit. Putatis me defecisse? Non mehercules. Mi
haec iactura gusti fuit, tamquam nihil facti. Alteras feci
maiores et meliores et feliciores, ut nemo non me
6 virum fortem diceret. Scis, magna navis magnam forti-
tudinem habet. Oneravi rursus vinum, lardum, fabam,
7 seplasium, mancipia. Hoc loco Fortunata rem piam
fecit. Omne enim aurum suum, omnia vestimenta ven-
didit et mi centum aureos in manu posuit. Hoc fuit
8 peculii mei fermentum. Cito fit quod dii volunt. Uno
cursu centies sestertium corrotundavi. Statim redemi
fundos omnes qui patroni mei fuerant. Aedifico domum
venalicia, coemo iumenta. Quicquid
9 tangebam crescebat tamquam favus. Postquam coepi
plus habere quam tota patria mea habet, manum de
tabula. Sustuli me de negotiatione et coepi *per* libertos
10 faenerare. Et sane nolentem me negotium meum agere,
exoravit mathematicus qui venerat forte in coloniam
nostram, Graeculio, Serapa nomine, consiliator deorum.
11 Hic mihi dixit etiam ea quae oblitus eram. Ab acia et
acu mi omnia exposuit. Intestinas meas noverat, tan-
tum quod non dixerat quid pridie cenaveram.
77 Putasses illum semper mecum habitasse. Rogo,
Habinna—puto interfuisti—'tu dominam tuam de
rebus illis fecisti. Tu parum felix in amicos es. Nemo
2 umquam tibi parem gratiam refert. Tu latifundia
possides. Tu viperam sub ala nutricas', et quod vobis

H non dixerim, etiam nunc mi restare vitae annos triginta et menses quattuor et dies duos. Praeterea cito 3
accipiam hereditatem. Hoc mihi dicit fatus meus. Quod si contigerit fundos Apuliae iungere, satis vivus pervenero. Interim dum Mercurius vigilat, aedificavi 4
hanc domum. Ut scitis, cusuc erat, nunc templum est. Habet quattuor cenationes, cubicula viginti, porticus marmoratas duas, susum cellationem, cubiculum in quo ipse dormio, viperae huius sessorium, ostiarii cellam perbonam, hospitium hospites capit. Ad summam, 5
Scaurus cum huc venit nusquam mavoluit hospitari, et habet ad mare paternum hospitium. Et multa alia sunt 6
quae statim vobis ostendam. Credite mihi: assem habeas, assem valeas; habes, habeberis. Sic amicus vester qui fuit rana nunc est rex. Interim, Stiche, 7
profer vitalia in quibus volo me efferri. Profer et unguentum et ex illa amphora gustum ex qua iubeo lavari ossa mea."

TRIMALCHIO REHEARSES HIS FUNERAL

Non est moratus Stichus sed et stragulam albam et 78
praetextam in triclinium attulit iussitque nos temptare an bonis lanis essent confecta. Tum subridens "vide 2
tu" inquit "Stiche, ne ista mures tangant aut tineae; alioquin te vivum comburam. Ego gloriosus volo efferri, ut totus mihi populus bene imprecetur." Statim am- 3
pullam nardi aperuit omnesque nos unxit et "spero" inquit "futurum ut aeque me mortuum iuvet tamquam vivum." Nam vinum quidem in vinarium iussit 4
infundi et "putate vos" inquit "ad parentalia mea invitatos esse." Ibat res ad summam nauseam cum 5
Trimalchio ebrietate turpissima gravis novum acroama, cornicines, in triclinium iussit adduci fultusque cervicalibus multis extendit se super torum extremum et

"fingite me" inquit "mortuum esse. Dicite aliquid H
belli."

ESCAPE

6 Consonuere cornicines funebri strepitu. Unus praecipue servus libitinarii illius qui inter hos honestissimus erat tam valde intonuit ut totam concitaret viciniam.
7 Itaque vigiles qui custodiebant vicinam regionem, rati ardere Trimalchionis domum, effregerunt ianuam subito et cum aqua securibusque tumultuari suo iure
8 coeperunt. Nos occasionem opportunissimam nacti Agamemnoni verba dedimus raptumque tam plane
79 quam ex incendio fugimus. Neque fax ulla in prae- L
sidio erat, quae iter aperiret errantibus, nec silentium noctis iam mediae promittebat occurrentium lumen.
2 Accedebat huc ebrietas et imprudentia locorum etiam
3 interdiu obscura. Itaque cum hora paene tota per omnes scirpos gastrarumque eminentium fragmenta traxissemus cruentos pedes, tandem expliciti acumine
4 Gitonis sumus. Prudens enim pridie cum luce etiam clara timeret errorem, omnes pilas columnasque notaverat creta, quae lineamenta evicerunt spississimam noctem et notabili candore ostenderunt errantibus
5 viam. Quamvis non minus sudoris habuimus etiam
6 postquam ad stabulum pervenimus. Anus enim ipsa inter deversitores diutius ingurgitata ne ignem quidem admotum sensisset et forsitan pernoctassemus in limine ni tabellarius Trimalchionis intervenisset *decem* ve-
7 hiculis dives. Non diu ergo tumultuatus stabuli ianuam effregit et nos per eandem terram admisit.

*

8 Qualis nox fuit, dii deaeque,
Quam mollis torus. Haesimus calentes
Et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
Errantes animas. Valete, curae
Mortales. Ego sic perire coepi. 5

ENCOLPIUS AND ASCYLTOS RESUME THEIR QUARREL

L Sine causa gratulor mihi. Nam cum solutus mero 9
amisissem ebrias manus, Ascyltos omnis iniuriae inventor subduxit mihi nocte puerum et in lectum transtulit suum volutatusque liberius cum fratre non suo, sive non sentiente iniuriam suam sive dissimulante, indormivit alienis amplexibus, oblitus iuris humani. Itaque ego ut experrectus pertrectavi gaudio 10
despoliatum torum, si qua est amantibus fides dubitavi, an utrumque traicerem gladio somnumque morti iungerem. Tutius dein secutus consilium Gitona 11
quidem verberibus excitavi, Ascylton autem truci intuens vultu "quoniam" inquam "fidem scelere violasti et communem amicitiam, res tuas ocius tolle et alium locum quem polluas quaere." Non repugnavit ille sed 12
postquam optima fide partiti manubias sumus, "age" inquit "nunc et puerum dividamus." Iocari putabam discedentem. At ille gladium parricidali manu strinxit 80
et "non frueris" inquit "hac praeda super quam solus incumbis. Partem meam necesse est vel hoc gladio contemptus abscindam." Idem ego ex altera parte feci 2
et intorto circa brachium pallio composui ad proeliandum gradum. Inter hanc miserorum dementiam infe- 3
licissimus puer tangebat utriusque genua cum fletu petebatque suppliciter ne Thebanum par humilis taberna spectaret neve sanguine mutuo pollueremus familiaritatis clarissima sacra. "Quod si utique" pro- 4
clamabat "facinore opus est, nudo ecce iugulum, convertite huc manus, imprimite mucrones. Ego mori debeo qui amicitiae sacramentum delevi." Inhibuimus ferrum 5
post has preces et prior Ascyltos "ego" inquit "finem discordiae imponam. Puer ipse quem vult sequatur, ut sit illi saltem in eligendo fratre salva libertas." Ego 6

qui vetustissimam consuetudinem putabam in san- L
guinis pignus transisse, nihil timui, immo condicionem praecipiti festinatione rapui commisique iudici litem. Qui ne deliberavit quidem, ut videretur cunctatus, verum etiam ab extrema parte verbi consurrexit et
7 fratrem Ascylton elegit. Fulminatus hac pronuntiatione sic ut eram, sine gladio in lectulum decidi, et attulissem mihi damnatus manus si non inimici victoriae in-
8 vidissem. Egreditur superbus cum praemio Ascyltos et paulo ante carissimum sibi commilitonem fortunaeque etiam similitudine in loco peregrino destituit abiectum.

9 || Nomen amicitiae sic quatenus expedit haeret; LO
Calculus in tabula mobile ducit opus.
Cum fortuna manet, vultum servatis, amici,
Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.

*

Grex agit in scena mimum: pater ille vocatur,
Filius hic, nomen divitis ille tenet.
Mox ubi ridendas inclusit pagina partes,
Vera redit facies, dissimulata perit.

*

81 Nec diu tamen lacrimis indulsi, sed veritus ne Menelaus etiam antescholanus inter cetera mala solum me in deversorio inveniret, collegi sarcinulas locumque
2 secretum et proximum litori maestus conduxi. Ibi triduo inclusus redeunte in animum solitudine atque contemptu, verberabam aegrum planctibus pectus || et L
inter tot altissimos gemitus frequenter etiam procla-
3 mabam: "Ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire? Non iratum etiam innocentibus mare? Effugi iudicium, arenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter audaciae nomina mendicus exul in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem desertus? Et quis hanc mihi solitudinem im-

L posuit? Adolescens omni libidine impurus et sua 4
quoque confessione dignus exilio, stupro liber, stupro
ingenuus, cuius anni ad tesseram venierunt, quem
tamquam puellam conduxit etiam qui virum putavit.
Quid ille alter? Die qui tamquam togae virilis stolam 5
sumpsit; qui ne vir esset a matre persuasus est; qui
opus muliebre in ergastulo fecit; qui postquam con-
turbavit et libidinis suae solum vertit, reliquit veteris
amicitiae nomen et, pro pudor, tamquam mulier secu-
tuleia unius noctis tactu omnia vendidit. Iacent nunc 6
amatores obligati noctibus totis et forsitan mutuis
libidinibus attriti derident solitudinem meam. Sed non
impune. Nam aut vir ego liberque non sum aut noxio
sanguine parentabo iniuriae meae."

THE ADVENTURE OF ENCOLPIUS AND THE POLICE

Haec locutus gladio latus cingor et ne infirmitas mili- 82
tiam perderet, largioribus cibis excito vires. Mox in
publicum prosilio furentisque more omnes circumeo
porticus. Sed dum attonito vultu efferatoque nihil aliud 2
quam caedem et sanguinem cogito frequentiusque
manum ad capulum quem devoveram refero, notavit
me miles, sive ille planus fuit sive nocturnus grassator,
et "quid tu" inquit "commilito, ex qua legione es aut 3
cuius centuria?" Cum constantissime et centurionem
et legionem essem mentitus, "age ergo" inquit "in
exercitu vestro phaecasiati milites ambulant?" Cum 4
deinde vultu atque trepidatione mendacium prodidis-
sem, ponere iussit arma et malo cavere. Despoliatus
ergo, immo praecisa ultione, retro ad deversorium
tendo paulatimque temeritate laxata coepi grassatoris
audaciae gratias agere.

*

Non bibit inter aquas nec poma pendentia carpit 5 L
Tantalus infelix, quem sua vota premunt.
Divitis haec magni facies erit, omnia late
Qui tenet et sicco concoquit ore famem.

*

6 Non multum oportet consilio credere, quia suam habet fortuna rationem *

THE ADVENTURE OF THE PICTURE GALLERY

83 In pinacothecam perveni vario genere tabularum mirabilem. Nam et Zeuxidos manus vidi nondum vetustatis iniuria victas, et Protogenis rudimenta cum ipsius naturae veritate certantia, non sine quodam horrore 2 tractavi. Iam vero Apellis, quem Graeci μονόχρωμον appellant etiam adoravi. Tanta enim subtilitate extremitates imaginum erant ad similitudinem praecisae 3 ut crederes etiam animorum esse picturam. Hinc aquila ferebat caelo sublimis Idaeum, illinc candidus Hylas repellebat improbam Naida. Damnabat Apollo noxias manus lyramque resolutam modo nato flore 4 honorabat. Inter quos etiam pictorum amantium vultus tamquam in solitudine exclamavi: "Ergo amor etiam deos tangit. Iuppiter in caelo suo non invenit quod eligeret et peccaturus in terris nemini tamen iniuriam 5 fecit. Hylam nympha praedata imperasset amori suo, si venturum ad interdictum Herculem credidisset. Apollo pueri umbram revocavit in florem et omnes 6 fabulae quoque habuerunt sine aemulo complexus. At ego in societatem recepi hospitem Lycurgo crudelio- 7 rem." Ecce autem ego dum cum ventis litigo intravit pinacothecam senex canus exercitati vultus et qui videretur nescio quid magnum promittere, sed cultu non proinde speciosus, ut facile appareret eum hac nota

L litterarum esse quos odisse divites solent. Is ergo ad latus constitit meum: "Ego" inquit "poeta sum, et ut spero non humillimi spiritus, si modo coronis aliquid credendum est, quas etiam ad imperitos deferre gratia solet. 'Quare ergo' inquis 'tam male vestitus es?' Propter hoc ipsum. Amor ingenii neminem umquam divitem fecit. 8 9

LO || "Qui pelago credit magno se faenore tollit; 10
Qui pugnas et castra petit praecingitur auro;
Vilis adulator picto iacet ebrius ostro
Et qui sollicitat nuptas ad praemia peccat.
Sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis. 5
Atque inopi lingua desertas invocat artes.

"Non dubie ita est. Si quis vitiorum omnium inimicus 84
rectum iter vitae inspicere coepit, primum propter morum differentiam odium habet: quis enim potest probare diversa? Deinde qui solas extruere divitias 2
curant, nihil volunt inter homines melius credi quam quod ipsi tenent. Iactantur itaque, quacumque ratione 3
possunt, litterarum amatores, ut videantur illi quoque infra pecuniam positi." *

L || Nescio quo modo bonae mentis soror est paupertas 4

*

Vellem tam innocens esset frugalitatis meae hostis ut 5
deliniri posset. Nunc veteranus est latro et ipsis lenonibus doctior *

THE ADVENTURE OF EUMOLPUS IN ASIA

"In Asiam cum a quaestore essem stipendio eductus, 85
hospitium Pergami accepi. Ubi cum libenter habitarem non solum propter cultum aedicularum sed etiam propter hospitis formosissimum filium, excogitavi

rationem qua non essem patri familiae suspectus L
2 amator. Quotienscumque enim in convivio de usu
formosorum mentio facta est, tam vehementer excan-
dui, tam severa tristitia violari aures meas obsceno
sermone nolui, ut me mater praecipue tamquam unum
3 ex philosophis intueretur. Iam ego coeperam ephebum
in gymnasium deducere, ego studia eius ordinare, ego
docere ac praecipere, ne quis praedator corporis ad-
4 mitteretur in domum. Forte cum in triclinio iaceremus,
quia dies sollemnis ludum artaverat pigritiamque
recedendi imposuerat hilaritas longior, fere circa
5 mediam noctem intellexi puerum vigilare. Itaque
timidissimo murmure votum feci et 'domina' inquam
'Venus, si ego hunc puerum basiavero ita ut ille non
6 sentiat, cras illi par columbarum donabo.' Audito
voluptatis pretio puer stertere coepit. Itaque aggressus
simulantem aliquot basiolis invasi. Contentus hoc
principio bene mane surrexi electumque par colum-
86 barum attuli exspectanti ac me voto exsolvi. Proxima
nocte cum idem liceret mutavi optionem et 'si hunc'
inquam 'tractavero improba manu et ille non senserit,
gallos gallinaceos pugnacissimos duos donabo patienti.'
2 Ad hoc votum ephebus ultro se admovit et puto vereri
3 coepit ne ego obdormissem. Indulsi ergo sollicito
totoque corpore citra summam voluptatem me ingur-
gitavi. Deinde ut dies venit attuli gaudenti quicquid
4 promiseram. Ut tertia nox licentiam dedit consurrexi ad
aurem male dormientis, 'dii' inquam 'immortales, si ego
huic dormienti abstulero coitum plenum et optabilem,
pro hac felicitate cras puero asturconem Macedonicum
optimum donabo, cum hac tamen exceptione, si ille non
5 senserit.' Numquam altiore somno ephebus obdormivit.
Itaque primum implevi lactentibus papillis manus,
mox basio inhaesi, deinde in unum omnia vota
6 coniunxi. Mane sedere in cubiculo coepit atque ex-

L spectare consuetudinem meam. Scis quanto facilius sit columbas gallosque gallinaceos emere quam asturconem, et praeter hoc etiam timebam ne tam grande munus suspectam faceret humanitatem meam. Ego 7
aliquot horis spatiatus in hospitium reverti nihilque aliud quam puerum basiavi. At ille circumspiciens ut cervicem meam iunxit amplexu, 'rogo' inquit 'domine, ubi est asturco?'" * "Cum ob hanc 87
offensam praeclusissem mihi aditum quem feceram, iterum ad licentiam redii. Interpositis enim paucis diebus cum similis casus nos in eandem fortunam rettulisset, ut intellexi stertere patrem, rogare coepi ephebum ut reverteretur in gratiam mecum, id est, ut pateretur satisfieri sibi, et cetera quae libido distenta dictat. At ille plane iratus nihil aliud dicebat nisi hoc: 2
'Aut dormi aut ego iam dicam patri.' Nihil est tam arduum quod non improbitas extorqueat. Dum dicit 3
'patrem excitabo' irrepsi tamen et male repugnanti gaudium extorsi. At ille non indelectatus nequitia mea, 4
postquam diu questus est deceptum se et derisum traductumque inter condiscipulos, quibus iactasset sensum meum, 'videris tamen' inquit 'non ero tui 5
similis. Si quid vis fac iterum.' Ego vero deposita omni 6
offensa cum puero in gratiam redii ususque beneficio eius in somnum delapsus sum. Sed non fuit contentus 7
iteratione ephebus plenae maturitatis et annis ad patiendum gestientibus. Itaque excitavit me sopitum et 'numquid vis?' inquit. Et non plane iam molestum 8
erat munus. Utcumque igitur inter anhelitus sudoresque tritus quod voluerat accepit rursusque in somnum decidi gaudio lassus. Interposita minus hora 9
pungere me manu coepit et dicere 'quare non facimus?' Tum ego toties excitatus plane vehementer excandui 10
et reddidi illi voces suas 'aut dormi aut ego iam patri dicam!'"

THE DECLINE OF ART

88 Erectus his sermonibus consulere prudentiorem coepi L
aetates tabularum et quaedam argumenta mihi
obscura simulque causam desidiae praesentis excutere,
cum pulcherrimae artes perissent, inter quas pictura
2 ne minimum quidem sui vestigium reliquisset. Tum ille
"pecuniae" inquit "cupiditas haec tropica instituit. ||
Priscis enim temporibus cum adhuc nuda virtus LO
placeret, vigebant artes ingenuae summumque certa-
men inter homines erat ne quid profuturum saeculis
3 diutius lateret. Itaque herbarum omnium succos
Democritus expressit et ne lapidum virgultorumque
vis lateret, aetatem inter experimenta consumpsit.
4 Eudoxos quidem in cacumine excelsissimi montis con-
senuit ut astrorum caelique motus deprehenderet, et
Chrysippus, ut ad inventionem sufficeret, ter elleboro
5 animum detersit. Verum ut ad plastas revertar,
Lysippum statuae unius lineamentis inhaerentem
inopia extinxit. Et Myron, qui paene animas hominum
ferarumque aere comprehendit, non invenit heredem.
6 At nos vino scortisque demersi ne paratas quidem artes
audemus cognoscere, sed accusatores antiquitatis vitia
7 tantum docemus et discimus. Ubi est dialectica? Ubi
astronomia? Ubi sapientiae cultissima via? Quis um-
quam venit in templum et votum fecit si ad elo-
quentiam pervenisset? Quis si philosophiae fontem
8 attigisset? Ac ne bonam quidem mentem aut bonam
valitudinem petunt, sed statim antequam limen
Capitolii tangant, alius donum promittit si propinquum
divitem extulerit, alius si thesaurum effoderit, alius
9 si ad trecenties sestertium salvus pervenerit. Ipse
senatus, recti bonique praeceptor, mille pondo auri
Capitolio promittere solet, et ne quis dubitet

LO pecuniam concupiscere Iovem quoque peculio exorat. Noli ergo mirari si pictura defecit, cum omnibus diis hominibusque formosior videatur massa auri quam quicquid Apelles Phidiasque Graeculi delirantes fecerunt. Sed video te totum in illa haerere tabula quae 89
Troiae Halosin ostendit. Itaque conabor opus versibus pandere:

THE FALL OF TROY

"Iam decima maestos inter ancipites metus
Phrygas obsidebat messis et vatis fides
Calchantis atro dubia pendebat metu,
Cum Delio praefante caesi vertices
Idae trahuntur scissaque in molem cadunt
Robora, minacem quae figurabant equum.
Aperitur ingens antrum et obducti specus,
Qui castra caperent. Huc decenni proelio
Irata virtus abditur. Stipant graves
Danai recessus, in suo voto latent.
O patria, pulsas mille credidimus rates
Solumque bello liberum; hoc titulus fero
Incisus, haec ad fata compositus Sinon
Firmabat et mens semper in damnum potens.
Iam turba portis libera ac bello carens
In vota properant. Fletibus manant genae
Mentisque pavidae gaudium lacrimas habet.
Quas metus abegit. Namque Neptuno sacer,
Crinem solutus, omne Laocoon replet
Clamore vulgus. Mox reducta cuspide
Uteri notavit, fata sed tradunt manus,
Ictusque resilit et dolis addit fidem.
Iterum tamen confirmat invalidam manum
Altaque bipenni latera pertemptat. Fremit
Captiva pubes intus et dum murmurat
Roborea moles spirat alieno metu.

Ibat iuventus capta dum Troiam capit LO
Bellumque totum fraude ducebat nova.
Ecce alia monstra. Celsa qua Tenedos mare
Dorso replevit tumida consurgunt freta
Undaque resultat scissa tranquillo minor:
Qualis silenti nocte remorum sonus
Longe refertur, cum premunt classes mare
Pulsumque marmor abiete imposita gemit.
Respicimus. Angues orbibus geminis ferunt
Ad saxa fluctus, tumida quorum pectora
Rates ut altae lateribus spumas agunt.
Dat cauda sonitum, liberae ponto iubae
Consentiunt, luminibus fulmineum iubar
Incendit aequor sibilisque undae tremunt.
Stupuere mentes. Infulis stabant sacri
Phrygioque cultu gemina nati pignora
Lauconti, quos repente tergoribus ligant
Angues corusci. Parvulas illi manus
Ad ora referunt, neuter auxilio sibi,
Uterque fratri; transtulit pietas vices
Morsque ipsa miseros mutuo perdit metu.
Accumulat ecce liberum funus parens,
Infirmus auxiliator. Invadunt virum
Iam morte pasti membraque ad terram trahunt.
Iacet sacerdos inter aras victima
Terramque plangit. Sic profanatis sacris
Peritura Troia perdidit primum deos.
Iam plena Phoebe candidum extulerat iubar
Minora ducens astra radianti face,
Cum inter sepultos Priamidas nocte et mero
Danai relaxant claustra et effundunt viros.
Temptant in armis se duces, ceu ubi solet
Nodo remissus Thessali quadrupes iugi
Cervicem et altas quatere ad excursum iubas.
Gladios retractant, commovent orbes manu

LO Bellumque sumunt. Hic graves alius mero
Obtruncat et continuat in mortem ultimam
Somnos, ab aris alius accendit faces
Contraque Troiam invocat Troiae sacra." 65

L || *Quidam* ex his qui in porticibus spatiabantur 90
lapides in Eumolpum recitantem miserunt. At ille qui
plausum ingenii sui noverat operuit caput extraque
templum profugit. Timui ego ne me poetam vocaret. 2
Itaque subsecutus fugientem ad litus perveni et ut
primum extra teli coniectum licuit consistere "rogo"
inquam "quid tibi vis cum isto morbo? Minus quam 3
duabus horis mecum moraris, et saepius poetice quam
humane locutus es. Itaque non miror si te populus 4
lapidibus persequitur. Ego quoque sinum meum saxis
onerabo ut quotienscumque coeperis a te exire san-
guinem tibi a capite mittam." Movit ille vultum et 5
"o mi" inquit "adolescens, non hodie primum auspi-
catus sum. Immo quotiens theatrum ut recitarem
aliquid intravi, hac me adventicia excipere frequentia
solet. Ceterum ne [et] tecum quoque habeam 6
rixandum, toto die me ab hoc cibo abstinebo."
"Immo" inquam ego "si eiuras hodiernam bilem una
cenabimus" *
Mando aedicularum custodi cenulae officium 7
*

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THE RETURN OF GITON

Video Gitona cum linteis et strigilibus parieti appli- 91
citum tristem confusumque. Scires non libenter servire.
Itaque ut experimentum oculorum caperem 2
convertit ille solutum gaudio vultum et
"miserere" inquit "frater. Ubi arma non sunt libere
loquor. Eripe me latroni cruento et qualibet saevitia

paenitentiam iudicis tui puni. Satis magnum erit L
misero solatium, tua voluntate cecidisse." Supprimere
ego querelam iubeo ne quis consilia deprehenderet
relictoque Eumolpo—nam in balneo carmen recitabat—
per tenebrosum et sordidum egressum extraho Gitona
raptimque in hospitium meum pervolo. Praeclusis
deinde foribus invado pectus amplexibus et perfusum
os lacrimis vultu meo contero. Diu vocem neuter
invenit, nam puer etiam singultibus crebris amabile
pectus quassaverat. "O facinus" inquam "indignum
quod amo te quamvis relictus, et in hoc pectore cum
vulnus ingens fuerit cicatrix non est. Quid dicis,
peregrini amoris concessio? Dignus hac iniuria fui?"
Postquam se amari sensit supercilium altius sustulit
"nec amoris arbitrium ad alium
iudicem tulit. Sed nihil iam queror, nihil iam memini,
si bona fide paenitentiam emendas." Haec cum inter
gemitus lacrimasque fudissem, detersit ille pallio vul-
tum et "quaeso" inquit "Encolpi, fidem memoriae tuae
appello. Ego te reliqui an tu me prodidisti? Equidem
fateor et prae me fero, cum duos armatos viderem ad
fortiorem confugi." Exosculatus pectus sapientia ple-
num inieci cervicibus manus, et ut facile intelligeret
redisse me in gratiam et optima fide reviviscentem
amicitiam toto pectore adstrinxi.

92 Et iam plena nox erat mulierque cenae mandata cura-
verat cum Eumolpus ostium pulsat. Interrogo ego
"quot estis?" obiterque per rimam foris speculari
diligentissime coepi num Ascyltos una venisset. Deinde
ut solum hospitem vidi momento recepi. Ille ut se in
grabatum reiecit viditque Gitona in conspectu minis-
trantem, movit caput et "laudo" inquit "Ganymeden.
Oportet hodie bene sit." Non delectavit me tam
curiosum principium timuique ne in contubernium
recepissem Ascylti parem. Instat Eumolpus et cum

L puer illi potionem dedisset "malo te" inquit "quam balneum totum," siccatoque avide poculum negat sibi umquam acidius fuisse. "Nam et dum lavor" ait "paene 6
vapulavi quia conatus sum circa solium sedentibus carmen recitare, et postquam de balneo tamquam de theatro eiectus sum circumire omnes angulos coepi et clara voce Encolpium clamitare. Ex altera parte 7
iuvenis nudus qui vestimenta perdiderat non minore clamoris indignatione Gitona flagitabat. Et me quidem 8
pueri tamquam insanum imitatione petulantissima deriserunt, illum autem frequentia ingens circumvenit cum plausu et admiratione timidissima. Habebat enim 9
inguinum pondus tam grande ut ipsum hominem laciniam fascini crederes. O iuvenem laboriosum. Puto illum pridie incipere, postero die finire. Itaque 10
statim invenit auxilium; nescio quis enim eques Romanus ut aiebant infamis sua veste errantem circumdedit ac domum abduxit, credo ut tam magna fortuna solus uteretur. At ego ne mea quidem vesti- 11
menta ab officioso recepissem nisi notorem dedissem. Tanto magis expedit inguina quam ingenia fricare." Haec Eumolpo dicente mutabam ego frequentissime 12
vultum, iniuriis scilicet inimici mei hilaris, commodis tristis. Utcumque tamen, tamquam non agnoscerem 13
fabulam, tacui et cenae ordinem explicui.

*

"Vile est quod licet et animus errore lentus iniurias 93
diligit.

Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis 2
Et pictis avis renovata pinnis
Atque Afrae volucres placent palato,
Quod non sunt faciles. At albus anser
Plebeium sapit. Ultimis ab oris 5
Attractus scarus atque arata Syrtis

Si quid naufragio dedit, probatur. L
Mullus iam gravis est. Amica vincit
Uxorem. Rosa cinnamum veretur.
Quicquid quaeritur optimum videtur." 10

3 "Hoc est" inquam "quod promiseras, ne quem hodie
versum faceres? Per fidem, saltem nobis parce qui te
numquam lapidavimus. Nam si aliquis ex iis qui in
eodem synoecio potant nomen poetae olfecerit, totam
concitabit viciniam et nos omnes sub eadem causa
obruet. Miserere et aut pinacothecam aut balneum
4 cogita." Sic me loquentem obiurgavit Giton mitissimus
puer et negavit recte facere quod seniori conviciarer
simulque oblitus officii mensam quam humanitate
posuissem contumelia tollerem, multaque alia moderationis verecundiaeque verba quae formam eius egregie
decebant *

94 || "O felicem" inquit "matrem tuam quae talem LO
peperit: macte virtute esto. Raram fecit mixturam cum
sapientia forma. Itaque ne putes te tot verba perdidisse, amatorem invenisti. Ego laudes tuas carmini-
2 bus implebo. Ego paedagogus et custos etiam quo non
iusseris sequar. Nec iniuriam Encolpius accipit: alium
3 amat." Profuit etiam Eumolpo miles ille qui mihi
abstulit gladium; alioquin quem animum adversus
Ascylton sumpseram eum in Eumolpi sanguinem exer-
4 cuissem. Nec fefellit hoc Gitona. Itaque extra cellam
processit tamquam aquam peteret iramque meam
5 prudenti absentia extinxit. Paululum ergo intepescente
saevitia, "Eumolpe" inquam "iam malo vel carminibus
loquaris quam eiusmodi tibi vota proponas. Et ego
iracundus sum et tu libidinosus. Vide quam non con-
6 veniat his moribus. Puta igitur me furiosum esse, cede
7 insaniae, id est, ocius foras exi." || Confusus hac L
denuntiatione Eumolpus non quaesiit iracundiae

causam sed continuo limen egressus adduxit repente ostium cellae meque nihil tale exspectantem inclusit, exemitque raptim clavem et ad Gitona investigandum cucurrit. Inclusus ego suspendio vitam finire constitui. 8
Et iam semicinctio stanti ad parietem spondae me iunxeram cervicesque nodo condebam, cum reseratis foribus intrat Eumolpus cum Gitone meque a fatali iam meta revocat ad lucem. Giton praecipue ex dolore 9
in rabiem efferatus tollit clamorem, me utraque manu impulsum praecipitat super lectum, "erras" inquit 10
"Encolpi, si putas contingere posse ut ante moriaris. Prius coepi: in Ascylti hospitio gladium quaesivi. Ego 11
si te non invenissem periturus per praecipitia fui. Et ut scias non longe esse quaerentibus mortem, specta invicem quod me spectare voluisti." Haec locutus 12
mercennario Eumolpi novaculam rapit et semel iterumque cervice percussa ante pedes collabitur nostros. Exclamo ego attonitus secutusque labentem 13
eodem ferramento ad mortem viam quaero. Sed neque 14
Giton ulla erat suspicione vulneris laesus, neque ego ullum sentiebam dolorem. Rudis enim novacula et in hoc retusa ut pueris discentibus audaciam tonsoris daret, instruxerat thecam. Ideoque nec mercennarius 15
ad raptum ferramentum expaverat nec Eumolpus interpellaverat mimicam mortem.

LO ||Dum haec fabula inter amantes luditur deversitor 95
cum parte cenulae intervenit contemplatusque foedissimam iacentium volutationem "rogo" inquit "ebrii
estis an fugitivi an utrumque? Quis autem grabatum 2
illum erexit aut quid sibi vult tam furtiva molitio?
Vos mehercules ne mercedem cellae daretis fugere nocte 3
in publicum voluistis. Sed non impune. Iam enim faxo sciatis non viduae hanc insulam esse sed M. Mannicii."
Exclamat Eumolpus "etiam minaris?" simulque os 4
hominis palma excussissima pulsat. Ille tot hospitum 5

potionibus liber urceolum fictilem in Eumolpi caput LO
iaculatus est solvitque clamantis frontem et de cella
6 se proripuit. Eumolpus contumeliae impatiens rapit
ligneum candelabrum sequiturque abeuntem et cre-
7 berrimis ictibus supercilium suum vindicat. Fit con-
cursus familiae hospitumque ebriorum frequentia. Ego
autem nactus occasionem vindictae Eumolpum excludo
redditaque scordalo vice sine aemulo scilicet et cella
8 utor et nocte. Interim coctores insulariique mulcant
exclusum et alius veru extis stridentibus plenum in
oculos eius intentat, alius furca de carnario rapta
statum proeliantis componit. Anus praecipue lippa
sordidissimo praecincta linteo soleis ligneis imparibus
imposita canem ingentis magnitudinis catena trahit
9 instigatque in Eumolpum, sed ille candelabro se ab
96 omni periculo vindicabat. Videbamus nos omnia per
foramen valvae quod paulo ante ansa ostioli rupta
2 laxaverat favebamque ego vapulanti. Giton autem non
oblitus misericordiae suae reserandum esse ostium suc-
3 currendumque periclitanti censebat. Ego durante adhuc
iracundia non continui manum sed caput miserantis
stricto acutoque articulo percussi. Et ille flens quidem
4 consedit in lecto. Ego autem alternos opponebam fora-
mini oculos iniuriaque Eumolpi || velut quodam cibo L
me replebam || advocationemque commodabam, cum LO
procurator insulae Bargates a cena excitatus a duobus
lecticariis in mediam rixam perfertur, nam erat etiam
5 pedibus aeger. Is ut rabiosa barbaraque voce in ebrios
fugitivosque diu peroravit, respiciens ad Eumolpum
6 "o poetarum" inquit "disertissime, tu eras? Et non dis-
cedunt ocius nequissimi servi manusque continent a
7 rixa? || Contubernalis mea mihi L
fastum facit. Ita si me amas maledic illam versibus ut
habeat pudorem."
97 Dum Eumolpus cum Bargate in secreto loquitur, in-

L stat stabulum praeco cum servo publico aliaque sane modica frequentia, facemque fumosam magis quam lucidam quassans haec proclamavit: "Puer in balneo 2
paulo ante aberravit, annorum circa XVI, crispus, mollis, formosus, nomine Giton. Si quis eum reddere aut commonstrare voluerit, accipiet nummos mille." Nec longe a praecone Ascyltos stabat, amictus dis- 3
coloria veste atque in lance argentea indicium et fidem praeferebat. Imperavi Gitoni ut raptim grabatum 4
subiret annecteretque pedes et manus institis quibus sponda culcitam ferebat, ac sic ut olim Ulixes [pro] arieti adhaesisset, extentus infra grabatum scrutantium eluderet manus. Non est moratus Giton imperium 5
momentoque temporis inseruit vinculo manus et Ulixem astu simillimo vicit. Ego ne suspicioni relin- 6
querem locum, lectulum vestimentis implevi uniusque hominis vestigium ad corporis mei mensuram figuravi. Interim Ascyltos ut pererravit omnes cum viatore 7
cellas, venit ad meam, et hoc quidem pleniorem spem concepit quo diligentius oppessulatas invenit fores. Publicus vero servus insertans commissuris secures 8
claustrorum infirmitatem laxavit. Ego ad genua 9
Ascylti procubui et per memoriam amicitiae perque societatem miseriarum petii ut saltem ostenderet fratrem. Immo ut fidem haberent fictae preces, "scio te" inquam "Ascylte, ad occidendum me venisse. Quo enim secures attulisti? Itaque satia iracundiam tuam: praebeo ecce cervicem, funde sanguinem quem sub praetextu quaestionis petisti." Amolitur Ascyltos 10
invidiam et se vero nihil aliud quam fugitivum suum dixit quaerere, mortem nec hominis concupisse nec supplicis, utique eius quem post fatalem rixam habuit carissimum. At non publicus servus tam languide agit, 98
sed raptam cauponi harundinem subter lectum mittit omniaque etiam foramina parietum scrutatur. Sub-

ducebat Giton ab ictu corpus et reducto timidissime L
spiritu ipsos sciniphes ore tangebat.

2 Eumolpus autem quia effractum ostium cellae neminem poterat excludere, irrumpit perturbatus et "mille" inquit "nummos inveni. Iam enim persequar abeuntem praeconem et in potestate tua esse Gitona meritissima
3 propositione monstrabo." Genua ego perseverantis amplector ne morientes vellet occidere, "et merito" inquam "excandesceres si posses proditum ostendere. Nunc inter turbam puer fugit nec quo abierit suspicari possum. Per fidem, Eumolpe, reduc puerum et vel
4 Ascylto redde." Dum haec ego iam credenti persuadeo, Giton collectione spiritus plenus ter continuo ita ster-
5 nutavit ut grabatum concuteret. Ad quem motum Eumolpus conversus salvere Gitona iubet. Remota etiam culcita videt Ulixem cui vel esuriens Cyclops
6 potuisset parcere. Mox conversus ad me, "quid est" inquit "latro? Ne deprehensus quidem ausus es mihi verum dicere. Immo ni deus quidam humanarum rerum arbiter pendenti puero excussisset indicium, elusus
7 circa popinas errarem." Giton longe blandior quam ego primum araneis oleo madentibus vulnus quod in supercilio factum erat coartavit, mox palliolo suo laceratam mutavit vestem, amplexusque iam mitigatum
8 osculis tamquam fomentis aggressus est et "in tua" inquit "pater carissime, in tua sumus custodia. Si
9 Gitona tuum amas, incipe velle servare. Utinam me solum inimicus ignis hauriret aut Hiberum invaderet mare. Ego enim omnium scelerum materia, ego causa sum. Si perirem, conveniret inimicis." *
99 "Ego sic semper et ubique vixi ut ultimam quamque lucem tamquam non redituram consumerem"

*

2 Profusis ego lacrimis rogo quaesoque ut mecum quoque redeat in gratiam. Neque enim in amantium

L esse potestate furiosam aemulationem. Daturum tamen operam ne aut dicam aut faciam amplius quo possit offendi. Tantum omnem scabitudinem animi tamquam bonarum artium magister deleret sine cicatrice. "Incultis asperisque regionibus diutius nives haerent, 3
ast ubi aratro domefacta tellus nitet, dum loqueris levis pruina dilabitur. Similiter in pectoribus ira considit: feras quidem mentes obsidet, eruditas praelabitur." "Ut scias" inquit Eumolpus "verum esse quod dicis, 4
ecce etiam osculo iram finio. Itaque, quod bene eveniat, expedite sarcinulas et vel sequimini me vel si mavultis ducite." Adhuc loquebatur cum crepuit ostium im- 5
pulsum stetitque in limine barbis horrentibus nauta et "moraris" inquit "Eumolpe, tamquam propudium ignores." Haud mora omnes consurgimus et Eumolpus 6
quidem mercennarium suum iam olim dormientem exire cum sarcinis iubet. Ego cum Gitone quicquid erat in alutam compono et adoratis sideribus intro navigium. *

THE ADVENTURE ON THE SHIP OF LICHAS

"Molestum est quod puer hospiti placet. Quid autem 100
non commune est quod natura optimum fecerit? Sol omnibus lucet. Luna innumerabilibus comitata sideribus etiam feras ducit ad pabulum. Quid aquis dici formosius potest? In publico tamen manant. Solus ergo amor furtum potius quam praemium erit? Immo vero nolo habere bona nisi quibus populus inviderit. Unus etiam senex non erit gravis. Etiam cum voluerit aliquid sumere opus anhelitu prodet." Hoc ut infra fiduciam 2
posui fraudavique animum dissidentem, coepi somnum obruto tunicula capite mentiri. Sed 3
repente quasi destruente fortuna constantiam meam, eiusmodi vox supra constratum puppis congemuit:

4 "Ergo me derisit?" At haec quidem virilis et paene L
auribus meis familiaris animum palpitantem percussit.
Ceterum eadem indignatione mulier lacerata ulterius
excanduit et "si quis deus manibus meis" inquit
"Gitona imponeret, quam bene exulem exciperem."
5 Uterque nostrum tam inexspectato ictus sono amiserat
sanguinem. Ego praecipue quasi somnio quodam tur-
bulento circumamictus diu vocem collegi tremebun-
disque manibus Eumolpi iam in soporem labentis
laciniam duxi et "per fidem" inquam "pater, cuius haec
6 navis est aut quos vehat, dicere potes?" Inquietatus
ille moleste tulit et "hoc erat" inquit "quod placuerat
tibi ut super constratum navis occuparemus secretis-
7 simum locum, ne nos patereris requiescere? Quid
porro ad rem pertinet si dixero Licham Tarentinum
esse dominum huiusce navigii, qui Tryphaenam exulem
Tarentum ferat?"

101 Intremui post hoc fulmen attonitus iuguloque detecto
"aliquando" inquam "totum me, Fortuna, vicisti."
Nam Giton quidem super pectus meum positus diu
2 animam egit. Deinde ut effusus sudor utriusque
spiritum revocavit, comprehendi Eumolpi genua:
"Miserere" inquam "morientium, id est, pro consortio
studiorum commoda manum. Mors venit, quae nisi per
3 te non licet, potest esse pro munere." Inundatus hac
Eumolpus invidia iurat per deos deasque se neque
scire quid acciderit nec ullum dolum malum consilio
adhibuisse, sed mente simplicissima et vera fide in
navigium comites duxisse quo ipse iam pridem fuerit
4 usurus. "Quae autem haec insidiae sunt" inquit "aut
quis nobiscum Hannibal navigat? Lichas Tarentinus
homo verecundissimus et non tantum huius navigii
dominus quod regit sed fundorum etiam aliquot et
familiae negotiantis, onus deferendum ad mercatum
5 conducit. Hic est Cyclops ille et archipirata cui

L vecturam debemus; et praeter hunc Tryphaena omnium feminarum formosissima, quae voluptatis causa huc atque illuc vectatur." "Hi sunt" inquit 6
Giton "quos fugimus", simulque raptim causas odiorum et instans periculum trepidanti Eumolpo exponit. Confusus ille et consilii egens iubet quemque suam 7
sententiam promere et "fingite" inquit "nos antrum Cyclopis intrasse. Quaerendum est aliquod effugium nisi naufragium ponimus et omni nos periculo liberamus." "Immo" inquit Giton "persuade gubernatori 8
ut in aliquem portum navem deducat, non sine praemio scilicet, et affirma ei impatientem maris fratrem tuum in ultimis esse. Poteris hanc simulationem et vultus confusione et lacrimis obumbrare ut misericordia permotus gubernator indulgeat tibi."

Negavit hoc Eumolpus fieri posse. "Vix magna" 9
inquit "navigia portibus se curvatis insinuant, nec tam cito fratrem defecisse veri simile est. Accedit his quod 10
forsitan Lichas officii causa visere languentem desiderabit. Vides quam valde nobis expediat ultro dominum ad fugientes accedere. Sed finge navem ab 11
ingenti posse cursu deflecti et Licham non utique circumiturum aegrorum cubilia. Quomodo possumus egredi nave ut non conspiciamur a cunctis? Opertis capitibus an nudis? Opertis, et quis non dare manum languentibus volet? Nudis, et quid erit aliud quam se ipsos proscribere?" "Quin potius" inquam ego "ad 102
temeritatem confugimus et per funem lapsi descendimus in scapham praecisoque vinculo reliqua fortunae committimus? Nec ego in hoc periculum Eumolpum 2
arcesso. Quid enim attinet innocentem alieno periculo imponere? Contentus sum si nos descendentes adiuverit casus." "Non imprudens" inquit Eumolpus 3
"consilium, si aditum haberet. Quis enim non euntes notabit? Utique gubernator qui pervigil nocte siderum

4 quoque motus custodit. Et utcumque imponi vel dor- L
mienti posset, si per aliam partem navis fuga
quaereretur: nunc per puppim, per ipsa gubernacula
dilabendum est, a quorum regione funis descendit qui
5 scaphae custodiam tenet. Praeterea illud miror, En-
colpi, tibi non succurrisse, unum nautam stationis
perpetuae interdiu noctuque iacere in scapha, nec
posse inde custodem nisi aut caede expelli aut prae-
cipitari viribus. Quod an fieri posset, interrogate
6 audaciam vestram. Nam quod ad meum quidem
comitatum attinet, nullum recuso periculum quod
7 salutis spem ostendit. Nam sine causa quidem spiritum
tamquam rem vacuam impendere nec vos quidem
8 existimo velle. Videte numquid hoc placeat: ego vos
in duas iam pelles coniciam vinctosque loris inter
vestimenta pro sarcinis habebo, apertis scilicet ali-
quatenus labris, quibus et spiritum recipere possitis et
9 cibum. Conclamabo deinde nocte servos poenam
graviorem timentes praecipitasse se in mare. Deinde
cum ventum fuerit in portum sine ulla suspicione pro
10 sarcinis vos efferam." "Ita vero" inquam "tamquam
solidos alligaturus, quibus non soleat venter iniuriam
facere an tamquam eos qui sternutare non soleamus
nec stertere, an quia hoc genus furti semel [mea]
11 feliciter cessit? Sed finge una die vinctos posse durare:
quid ergo si diutius aut tranquillitas nos tenuerit aut
12 adversa tempestas? Quid facturi sumus? Vestes quoque
diutius vinctas ruga consumit et chartae alligatae
mutant figuram. Iuvenes adhuc laboris expertes
statuarum ritu patiemur pannos et vincla?"

13 "Adhuc aliquod iter salutis quaerendum est. Inspicite
quod ego inveni. Eumolpus tamquam litterarum stu-
diosus utique atramentum habet. Hoc ergo remedio
mutemus colores a capillis usque ad ungues. Ita tam-
quam servi Aethiopes et praesto tibi erimus sine

L tormentorum iniuria hilares et permutato colore imponemus inimicis." "Quidni?" inquit Giton "Etiam 14
circumcide nos, ut Iudaei videamur, et pertunde aures, ut imitemur Arabes, et increta facies, ut suos Gallia cives putet; tamquam hic solus color figuram possit pervertere et non multa una oportet consentiant [et non] ratione *ut* mendacium constet. Puta infectam 15
medicamine faciem diutius durare posse; finge nec aquae asperginem impositurum aliquam corpori maculam nec vestem atramento adhaesuram, quod frequenter etiam non arcessito ferrumine infigitur; age, numquid et labra possumus tumore taeterrimo implere? Numquid et crines calamistro convertere? Numquid et frontes cicatricibus scindere? Numquid et crura in orbem pandere? Numquid et talos in terram deducere? Numquid et barbam peregrina ratione figurare? Color arte compositus inquinat corpus, non mutat. Audite 16
quid timenti succurrerit: praeligemus vestibus capita et nos in profundum mergamus." "Nec istud dii 103
hominesque patiantur" Eumolpus exclamat "ut vos tam turpi exitu vitam finiatis. Immo potius facite quod iubeo. Mercennarius meus ut ex novacula comperistis tonsor est: hic continuo radat utriusque non solum capita sed etiam supercilia. Sequar ego frontes notans 2
inscriptione sollerti ut videamini stigmate esse puniti. Ita eaedem litterae et suspicionem declinabunt quaerentium et vultus umbra supplicii tegent." Non 3
est dilata fallacia, sed ad latus navigii furtim processimus capitaque cum superciliis denudanda tonsori praebuimus. Implevit Eumolpus frontes utriusque in- 4
gentibus litteris et notum fugitivorum epigramma per totam faciem liberali manu duxit. Unus forte ex vectori- 5
bus qui acclinatus lateri navis exonerabat stomachum nausea gravem notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem intempestivo inhaerentem ministerio, execratusque omen

quod imitaretur naufragorum ultimum votum in cubile L
6 reiectus est. Nos dissimulata nauseantis devotione ad ordinem tristitiae redimus silentioque composito reliquas noctis horas male soporati consumpsimus.

*

104 "Videbatur mihi secundum quietem Priapus dicere, 'Encolpium quod quaeris, scito a me in navem tuam
2 esse perductum.'" Exhorruit Tryphaena et "putes" inquit "una nos dormisse; nam et mihi simulacrum Neptuni quod Baiis *in* tetrastylo notaveram, videbatur
3 dicere, 'in nave Lichae Gitona invenies.'" "Hinc scies" inquit Eumolpus "Epicurum esse hominem divinum, qui eiusmodi ludibria facetissima ratione condemnat."
4 Ceterum Lichas ut Tryphaenae somnum expiavit, "quis" inquit "prohibet navigium scrutari ne videamur
5 divinae mentis opera damnare?" Is qui nocte miserorum furtum deprehenderat, Hesus nomine, subito proclamat: "Ergo illi qui sunt qui nocte ad lunam radebantur, pessimo mediusfidius exemplo? Audio enim non licere cuiquam mortalium in nave neque ungues neque capillos deponere nisi cum pelago
105 ventus irascitur." Excanduit Lichas hoc sermone turbatus et "itane" inquit "capillos aliquis in nave praecidit, et hoc nocte intempesta? Attrahite ocius nocentes in medium ut sciam quorum capitibus debeat navigium
2 lustrari." "Ego" inquit Eumolpus "hoc iussi. Nec non eodem futurus navigio auspicium mihi feci, sed quia nocentes horridos longosque habebant capillos, ne viderer de nave carcerem facere iussi squalorem damnatis auferri; simul ut notae quoque litterarum non adumbratae comarum praesidio totae ad oculos
3 legentium accederent. Inter cetera, apud communem amicam consumpserunt pecuniam meam, a qua illos proxima nocte extraxi mero unguentisque perfusos. Ad summam, adhuc patrimonii mei reliquias olent."

L Itaque ut tutela navis expiaretur, placuit quadragenas 4
utrisque plagas imponi. Nulla ergo fit mora. Aggrediuntur nos furentes nautae cum funibus temptantque vilissimo sanguine tutelam placare. Et ego quidem 5
tres plagas Spartana nobilitate concoxi. Ceterum Giton semel ictus tam valde exclamavit ut Tryphaenae aures notissima voce repleret. Non solum ergo turbata est 6
sed ancillae etiam omnes familiari sono inductae ad vapulantem decurrunt. Iam Giton mirabili forma 7
exarmaverat nautas coeperatque etiam sine voce saevientes rogare, cum ancillae pariter proclamant: "Giton est, Giton; inhibete crudelissimas manus. Giton est, domina, succurre." Deflectit aures Try- 8
phaena iam sua sponte credentes raptimque ad puerum devolat. Lichas, qui me optime novit, tam- 9
quam etiam ipse vocem audisset, accurrit et nec manus nec faciem meam consideravit sed continuo ad inguina mea luminibus deflexis movit officiosam manum et "salve" inquit "Encolpi." Miretur nunc aliquis Ulixis 10
nutricem post vicesimum annum cicatricem invenisse originis indicem, cum homo prudentissimus confusis omnibus corporis orisque lineamentis ad unicum fugitivi argumentum tam docte pervenerit. Tryphaena 11
lacrimas effudit decepta supplicio—vera enim stigmata credebat captivorum frontibus impressa—sciscitarique submissius coepit quod ergastulum intercepisset errantes, aut cuius tam crudeles manus in hoc supplicium durassent. Meruisse quidem contumeliam aliquam fugitivos quibus in odium bona sua venissent. Concitatus iracundia prosiliit Lichas et "o te" inquit 106
"feminam simplicem, tamquam vulnera ferro praeparata litteras biberint. Utinam quidem hac se inscriptione frontis maculassent: haberemus nos extremum solacium. Nunc mimicis artibus petiti sumus et adumbrata inscriptione derisi." Volebat 2

Tryphaena misereri, quia non totam voluptatem perdiderat, sed Lichas memor adhuc uxoris corruptae contumeliarumque quas in Herculis porticu acceperat, turbato vehementius vultu proclamat: "Deos immortales rerum humanarum agere curam, puto, intellexisti, o Tryphaena. Nam imprudentes noxios in nostrum induxere navigium, et quid fecissent admonuerunt pari somniorum consensu. Ita vide ut prosit illis ignosci, quos ad poenam ipse deus deduxit. Quod ad me attinet, non sum crudelis, sed vereor ne quid remisero patiar." Tam superstitiosa oratione Tryphaena mutata negat se interpellare supplicium, immo accedere etiam iustissimae ultioni. Nec se minus grandi vexatam iniuria quam Licham, cuius pudoris dignitas in contione proscripta sit * L

EUMOLPUS INTERCEDES

107 "Me, ut puto, hominem non ignotum, elegerunt ad hoc officium legatum petieruntque ut se reconciliarem aliquando amicissimis. Nisi forte putatis iuvenes casu in has plagas incidisse, cum omnis vector nihil prius quaerat quam cuius se diligentiae credat. Flectite ergo mentes satisfactione lenitas et patimini liberos homines ire sine iniuria quo destinant. Saevi quoque implacabilesque domini crudelitatem suam impediunt, si quando paenitentia fugitivos reduxit, et dediticiis hostibus parcimus. Quid ultra petitis aut quid vultis? In conspectu vestro supplices iacent, iuvenes ingenui, honesti, et quod utroque potentius est, familiaritate vobis aliquando coniuncti. Si mehercules intervenissent pecuniam vestram, si fidem proditione laesissent, satiari tamen potuissetis hac poena quam videtis. Servitia ecce in frontibus cernitis et vultus ingenuos voluntaria poenarum lege proscriptos." Interpellavit

L deprecationem supplicis Lichas et "noli" inquit "causam confundere, sed impone singulis modum. Ac 8
primum omnium, si ultro venerunt, cur nudavere crinibus capita? Vultum enim qui permutat fraudem parat, non satisfactionem. Deinde, si gratiam a legato 9
moliebantur, quid ita omnia fecisti ut quos tuebaris absconderes? Ex quo apparet casu incidisse noxios in plagas et te artem quaesisse qua nostrae animadversionis impetum eluderes. Nam quod invidiam facis 10
nobis ingenuos honestosque clamando, vide ne deteriorem facias confidentia causam. Quid debent laesi facere ubi rei ad poenam confugiunt? At enim amici 11
fuerunt nostri. Eo maiora meruerunt supplicia, nam qui ignotos laedit, latro appellatur, qui amicos, paulo minus quam parricida."

Resolvit Eumolpus tam iniquam declamationem et 12
"intelligo" inquit "nihil magis obesse iuvenibus miseris quam quod nocte deposuerunt capillos. Hoc argumento incidisse videntur in navem, non venisse. Quod velim tam candide ad aures vestras perveniat 13
quam simpliciter gestum sit. Voluerunt enim antequam conscenderent exonerare capita molesto et supervacuo pondere, sed celerior ventus distulit curationis propositum. Nec tamen putaverunt ad rem pertinere ubi 14
inciperent quod placuerat ut fieret, quia nec omen nec legem navigantium noverant." "Quid" inquit Lichas 15
"attinuit supplices radere? Nisi forte miserabiliores calvi solent esse. Quamquam quid attinet veritatem per interpretem quaerere? Quid dicis tu, latro? Quae sola salamandra supercilia tua exussit? Cui deo crinem vovisti? Pharmace, responde." Obstipueram ego sup- 108
plicii metu pavidus, nec quid in re manifestissima dicerem inveniebam, turbatus et deformis praeter spoliati capitis dedecus superciliorum etiam aequali cum fronte calvitie, ut nihil nec facere deceret nec

2 dicere. Ut vero spongia uda facies plorantis detersa est L
et liquefactum per totum os atramentum omnia scilicet
lineamenta fuliginea nube confudit, in odium se ira
3 convertit. Negat Eumolpus passurum se ut quisquam
ingenuos contra fas legemque contaminet, inter-
pellatque saevientium minas non solum voce sed etiam
4 manibus. Aderat interpellanti mercennarius comes et
unus alterque infirmissimus vector, solatia magis litis
5 quam virium auxilia. Nec quicquam pro me depre-
cabar, sed intentans in oculos Tryphaenae manus,
usurum me viribus meis clara liberaque voce clamavi
ni abstineret a Gitone iniuriam mulier damnata et in
6 toto navigio sola verberanda. Accenditur audacia mea
iratior Lichas indignaturque quod ego relicta mea
7 causa tantum pro alio clamo. Nec minus Tryphaena
contumelia saevit accensa totiusque navigii turbam
8 diducit in partes. Hinc mercennarius tonsor ferramenta
sua nobis et ipse armatus distribuit; illinc Tryphaenae
familia nudas expedit manus. Ac ne ancillarum quidem
clamor aciem destituit, uno tantum gubernatore
relicturum se navis ministerium denuntiante si non
9 desinat rabies libidine perditorum collecta. Nihilominus
tamen perseverat dimicantium furor, illis pro ultione,
nobis pro vita pugnantibus. Multi ergo utrimque sine
morte labuntur, plures cruenti vulneribus referunt
veluti ex proelio pedem, nec tamen cuiusquam ira
laxatur.

10 Tunc fortissimus Giton ad virilia sua admovit
novaculam infestam, minatus se abscissurum tot
miseriarum causam inhibuitque Tryphaena tam grande
11 facinus non dissimulata missione. Saepius ego cultrum
tonsorium super iugulum meum posui non magis me
occisurus quam Giton quod minabatur facturus.
Audacius tamen ille tragoediam implebat quia sciebat
se illam habere novaculam qua iam sibi cervicem

LO praeciderat. || Stante ergo utraque acie, cum appareret 12
futurum non tralaticium bellum, aegre expugnavit
gubernator ut caduceatoris more Tryphaena indutias
faceret. Dataque ergo acceptaque ex more patrio 13
fide protendit ramum oleae a tutela navigii raptum
atque in colloquium venire ausa:

"Quis furor" exclamat "pacem convertit in arma? 14
Quid nostrae meruere manus? Non Troius heros
Hac in classe vehit decepti pignus Atridae,
Nec Medea furens fraterno sanguine pugnat.
Sed contemptus amor vires habet. Ei mihi, fata 5
Haec inter fluctus quis raptis evocat armis?
Cui non est mors una satis? Ne vincite pontum
Gurgitibusque feris alios imponite fluctus."

Haec ut turbato clamore mulier effudit, haesit paulisper 109
acies, revocataeque ad pacem manus intermisere
bellum. Utitur paenitentiae occasione dux Eumolpus et
castigato ante vehementissime Licha tabulas foederis
signat, queis haec formula erat: "Ex tui animi sen- 2
tentia, ut tu, Tryphaena, neque iniuriam tibi factam
a Gitone quereris, neque si quid ante hunc diem
factum est obicies vindicabisve aut ullo alio genere
persequendum curabis; ut tu nihil imperabis puero
repugnanti, non amplexum, non osculum, non coitum
venere constrictum, nisi pro qua re praesentes
numeraveris denarios centum. Item, Licha, ex tui 3
animi sententia, ut tu Encolpium nec verbo con-
tumelioso insequeris neque vultu neque quaeres ubi
nocte dormiat aut si quaesieris pro singulis iniuriis
numerabis praesentes denarios ducentos." In haec 4
L verba foederibus compositis arma deponimus || et ne
residua in animis etiam post iusiurandum ira reman-
eret, praeterita aboleri osculis placet. Exhortantibus 5
universis odia detumescunt epulaeque ad certamen

6 prolatae conciliant hilaritate concilium. || Exsonat LO
ergo cantibus totum navigium et quia repentina tranquillitas intermiserat cursum, alius exultans quaerebat fuscina pisces, alius hamis blandientibus convellebat
7 praedam repugnantem. Ecce etiam per antemnam pelagiae consederant volucres, quas textis harundinibus peritus artifex tetigit. Illae viscatis illigatae viminibus deferebantur ad manus. Tollebat plumas aura volitantes pinnasque per maria inanis spuma torquebat.
8 Iam Lichas redire mecum in gratiam coeperat, iam Tryphaena Gitona extrema parte potionis spargebat, cum Eumolpus et ipse vino solutus dicta voluit in calvos stigmososque iaculari, donec consumpta frigidissima urbanitate rediit ad carmina sua coepitque capillorum elegidarion dicere:

9 "Quod solum formae decus est, cecidere capilli,
Vernantesque comas tristis abegit hiems.
Nunc umbra nudata sua iam tempora maerent
Areaque attritis ridet adusta pilis.
O fallax natura deum, quae prima dedisti 5
Aetati nostrae gaudia, prima rapis.

10 Infelix, modo crinibus nitebas
Phoebo pulchrior aut sorore Phoebi.
At nunc levior aere vel rotundo
Horti tubere quod creavit unda,
Ridentes fugis et times puellas. 5
Ut mortem citius venire credas
Scito iam capitis perisse partem."

110 Plura volebat proferre, credo, et ineptiora praeteritis, cum ancilla Tryphaenae Gitona in partem navis inferiorem ducit corymbioque dominae pueri adornat
2 caput. Immo supercilia etiam profert de pyxide sciteque iacturae lineamenta secuta totam illi formam

LO suam reddidit. Agnovit Tryphaena verum Gitona 3
lacrimisque turbata tunc primum bona fide puero
L basium dedit. || Ego etiam si repositum in pristinum 4
decorem puerum gaudebam, abscondebam tamen frequentius vultum intelligebamque me non tralaticia deformitate esse insignitum, quem alloquio dignum ne Lichas quidem crederet. Sed huic tristitiae eadem illa 5
succurrit ancilla, evocatumque me non minus decoro exornavit capillamento. Immo commendatior vultus
LO enituit quia flavum corymbion erat. || Ceterum 6
Eumolpus, et periclitantium advocatus et praesentis concordiae auctor, ne sileret sine fabulis hilaritas multa in muliebrem levitatem coepit iactare, quam facile 7
adamarent, quam cito etiam filiorum oblivisceren tur, nullamque feminam esse tam pudicam quae non peregrina libidine usque ad furorem averteretur. Nec se 8
tragoedias veteres curare aut nomina saeculis nota, sed rem sua memoria factam expositurum se esse si vellemus audire. Conversi igitur omnium in se vultibus auribusque sic orsus est:

THE STORY OF THE WIDOW OF EPHESUS

"Matrona quaedam Ephesi tam notae erat pudicitiae 111
ut vicinarum quoque gentium feminas ad spectaculum
sui evocaret. Haec ergo cum virum extulisset non con- 2
tenta vulgari more funus passis prosequi crinibus aut nudatum pectus in conspectu frequentiae plangere, in conditorium etiam prosecuta est defunctum, positumque in hypogaeo Graeco more corpus custodire ac
flere totis noctibus diebusque coepit. Sic afflictantem se 3
ac mortem inedia persequentem non parentes potuerunt abducere, non propinqui; magistratus ultimo repulsi abierunt, comploratagque ab omnibus singularis exempli femina quintum iam diem sine alimento trahebat.

4 Adsidebat aegrae fidissima ancilla simulque et lacri- LO
mas commodabat lugenti et quotiensque defecerat
5 positum in monumento lumen renovabat. Una igitur in
tota civitate fabula erat: solum illud adfulsisse verum
pudicitiae amorisque exemplum omnis ordinis homines
confitebantur, cum interim imperator provinciae
latrones iussit crucibus adfigi secundum illam casulam
6 in qua recens cadaver matrona deflebat. Proxima ergo
nocte cum miles qui cruces servabat, ne quis ad
sepulturam corpora detraheret, notasset sibi et lumen
inter monumenta clarius fulgens et gemitum lugentis
audisset, vitio gentis humanae concupiit scire quis aut
7 quid faceret. Descendit igitur in conditorium, visaque
pulcherrima muliere primo quasi quodam monstro
8 infernisque imaginibus turbatus substitit. Deinde ut et
corpus iacentis conspexit et lacrimas consideravit
faciemque unguibus sectam, ratus scilicet id quod erat,
desiderium extincti non posse feminam pati, adtulit in
monumentum cenulam suam coepitque hortari
lugentem ne perseveraret in dolore supervacuo et nihil
profuturo gemitu pectus diduceret: omnium eandem
esse sedem et domicilium, et cetera quibus exulceratae
9 mentes ad sanitatem revocantur. At illa ignota con-
solatione percussa laceravit vehementius pectus rup-
tosque crines super pectus iacentis imposuit.

10 "Non recessit tamen miles sed eadem exhortatione
temptavit dare mulierculae cibum, donec ancilla vini
certe ab eo odore corrupta primum ipsa porrexit ad
humanitatem invitantis victam manum, deinde refecta
potione et cibo expugnare dominae pertinaciam coepit
11 et 'quid proderit' inquit 'hoc tibi si soluta inedia
fueris, si te vivam sepelieris, si antequam fata poscant
indemnatum spiritum effuderis?

12 Id cinerem aut manes credis sentire sepultos?

LO Vis tu reviviscere? Vis discusso muliebri errore quamdiu licuerit lucis commodis frui? Ipsum te iacentis corpus admonere debet ut vivas.' Nemo 13
invitus audit cum cogitur aut cibum sumere aut vivere. Itaque mulier aliquot dierum abstinentia sicca passa est frangi pertinaciam suam, nec minus avide replevit se cibo quam ancilla quae prior victa est. Ceterum 112
scitis quid plerumque soleat temptare humanam satietatem. Quibus blanditiis impetraverat miles ut matrona vellet vivere, iisdem etiam pudicitiam eius aggressus est. Nec deformis aut infacundus iuvenis 2
castae videbatur, conciliante gratiam ancilla ac subinde dicente:

'Placitone etiam pugnabis amori,
Nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?'

Quid diutius moror? Ne hanc quidem partem corporis mulier abstinuit, victorque miles utrumque persuasit. Iacuerunt ergo una non tantum illa nocte qua nuptias 3
fecerunt sed postero etiam ac tertio die, praeclusis videlicet conditorii foribus, ut quisque ex notis ignotisque ad monumentum venisset putaret expirasse super corpus viri pudicissimam uxorem. Ceterum delectatus miles et forma mulieris et secreto 4
quicquid boni per facultates poterat coemebat, et prima statim nocte in monumentum ferebat. Itaque unius 5
cruciarii parentes, ut viderunt laxatam custodiam, detraxere nocte pendentem supremoque mandaverunt officio. At miles circumscriptus dum desidet, ut postero 6
die vidit unam sine cadavere crucem, veritus supplicium mulieri quid accidisset exponit: nec se expectaturum iudicis sententiam sed gladio ius dicturum ignaviae suae. Commodaret modo perituro locum et fatale conditorium familiari ac viro faceret. Mulier non 7
minus misericors quam pudica 'nec istud' inquit 'dii

sinant ut eodem tempore duorum mihi carissimorum LO
hominum duo funera spectem. Malo mortuum impen-
8 dere quam vivum occidere.' Secundum hanc orationem
iubet ex arca corpus mariti sui tolli atque illi quae
vacabat cruci adfigi. Usus est miles ingenio pruden-
tissimae feminae posteroque die populus miratus est
qua ratione mortuus isset in crucem."

113 Risu excepere fabulam nautae [et] erubescente non
mediocriter Tryphaena vultumque suum super cervi-
2 cem Gitonis amabiliter ponente. At non Lichas risit
sed iratum commovens caput "si iustus" inquit "im-
perator fuisset, debuit patris familiae corpus in monu-
3 mentum referre, mulierem adfigere cruci." Non dubie
redierat in animum Hedile expilatumque libidinosa
4 migratione navigium. Sed nec foederis verba per-
mittebant meminisse nec hilaritas quae occupaverat
5 mentes dabat iracundiae locum. Ceterum Tryphaena in
gremio Gitonis posita modo implebat osculis pectus,
interdum concinnabat spoliatum crinibus vultum. ||
6 Ego maestus et impatiens foederis novi non cibum, L
non potionem capiebam, sed obliquis trucibusque
7 oculis utrumque spectabam. Omnia me oscula vulnera-
bant, omnes blanditiae quascumque mulier libidinosa
fingebat. Nec tamen adhuc sciebam utrum magis
puero irascerer quod amicam mihi auferret an amicae
quod puerum corrumperet: utraque inimicissima
8 oculis meis et captivitate praeterita tristiora. Accedebat
huc quod neque Tryphaena me adloquebatur tam-
quam familiarem et aliquando gratum sibi amatorem,
nec Giton me aut tralaticia propinatione dignum
iudicabat, aut, quod minimum est, sermone communi
vocabat, credo, veritus ne inter initia coeuntis gratiae
9 recentem cicatricem rescinderet. Inundavere pectus
lacrimae dolore paratae, gemitusque suspirio tectus
animam paene submovit *

L In partem voluptatis temptabat admitti, nec domini 10
supercilium induebat, sed amici quaerebat obsequium
*
"Si quid ingenui sanguinis habes non pluris illam 11
facies quam spurcam. Si vir fueris, non ibis ad
sphingam" *
Me nihil magis pungebat quam ne Eumolpus sensisset, 12
quicquid illud fuerat, et homo dicacissimus carminibus
vindicaret *
Iurat verbis Eumolpus conceptissimis 13
*

THE SHIPWRECK

Dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare nubesque 114
undique adductae obruere tenebris diem. Discurrunt
nautae ad officium trepidantes velaque tempestati
subducunt. Sed nec certos fluctus ventus impulerat, 2
nec quo destinaret cursum gubernator sciebat. Siciliam 3
modo ventus dabat, saepissime Italici litoris Aquilo
possessor convertebat huc illuc obnoxiam ratem, et,
quod omnibus procellis periculosius erat, tam spissae
repente tenebrae lucem suppresserant ut ne partem
quidem totam gubernator videret. Itaque Hercules 4
postquam manifesta convaluit, Lichas
trepidans ad me supinas porrigit manus et "tu" inquit 5
"Encolpi, succurre periclitantibus, id est, vestem illam
divinam sistrumque redde navigio. Per fidem, miserere
quemadmodum quidem soles." Et illum quidem 6
vociferantem in mare ventus excussit, repetitumque
infesto gurgite procella circumegit atque hausit.
Tryphaenam autem prope iam fidelissimi rapuerunt 7
servi scaphaeque impositam cum maxima sarcinarum
parte abduxere. Certissimae morti applicitus cum 8
clamore flevi et "hoc" inquam "a diis meruimus, ut

nos sola morte coniungerent? Sed non crudelis fortuna L
9 concedit. Ecce iam ratem fluctus evertet, ecce iam amplexus amantium iratum dividit mare. Igitur, si vere Encolpium dilexisti, da oscula dum licet. Ulti-
10 mum hoc gaudium fatis properantibus rape." Haec ut ego dixi, Giton vestem deposuit meaque tunica contectus exeruit ad osculum caput. Et ne sic cohaerentes malignior fluctus detraheret, utrumque zona circum-
11 venienti praecinxit et "si nihil aliud, certe diutius" inquit "iuncta nos mors feret, vel si voluerit misericors ad idem litus expellere, aut praeteriens aliquis tralaticia humanitate lapidabit, aut quod ultimum est iratis
12 etiam fluctibus, imprudens arena componet." Patior ego vinculum extremum, et veluti lecto funebri aptatus
13 exspecto mortem iam non molestam. Peragit interim tempestas mandata fatorum omnesque reliquias navis expugnat. Non arbor erat relicta, non gubernacula, non funis aut remus, sed quasi rudis atque infecta
14 materies ibat cum fluctibus. * Percurrere piscatores parvulis expediti navigiis ad praedam rapiendam. Deinde ut aliquos viderunt qui suas opes defenderent, mutaverunt crudelitatem in auxilium.

*

115 Audimus murmur insolitum et sub diaeta magistri
2 quasi cupientis exire beluae gemitum. Persecuti igitur sonum invenimus Eumolpum sedentem membranaeque
3 ingenti versus ingerentem. Mirati ergo quod illi vacaret in vicinia mortis poema facere, extrahimus clamantem
4 iubemusque bonam mentem habere. At ille interpellatus excanduit et "sinite me" inquit "sententiam
5 explere; laborat carmen in fine." Inicio ego phrenetico manum iubeoque Gitona accedere et in terram trahere
6 poetam mugientem. Hoc opere tandem elaborato casam piscatoriam subimus maerentes cibisque naufragio corruptis utcumque curati tristis-

L simam exegimus noctem. Postero die cum poneremus 7
consilium cui nos regioni crederemus, repente video
corpus humanum circumactum levi vertice ad litus
deferri. Substiti ergo tristis coepique umentibus oculis 8
maris fidem inspicere et "hunc forsitan" proclamo "in 9
aliqua parte terrarum secura exspectat uxor, forsitan
ignarus tempestatis filius, aut patrem utique reliquit
aliquem cui proficiscens osculum dedit. Haec sunt 10
consilia mortalium, haec vota magnarum cogitationum.
En homo quemadmodum natat!" Adhuc tamquam 11
ignotum deflebam, cum inviolatum os fluctus convertit
in terram, agnovique terribilem paulo ante et implaca-
bilem Licham pedibus meis paene subiectum. Non 12
tenui igitur diutius lacrimas, immo percussi semel
iterumque manu pectus et "ubi nunc est" inquam
"iracundia tua, ubi impotentia tua? Nempe piscibus 13
beluisque impositus es, et qui paulo ante iactabas
vires imperii tui, de tam magna nave ne tabulam
quidem naufragus habes. Ite nunc mortales et magnis 14
cogitationibus pectora implete. Ite cauti et opes
fraudibus captas per mille annos disponite. Nempe hic 15
proxima luce patrimonii sui rationes inspexit, nempe
diem etiam quo venturus esset in patriam animo suo
finxit. Dii deaeque, quam longe a destinatione sua
iacet. Sed non sola mortalibus maria hanc fidem 16
praestant. Illum bellantem arma decipiunt, illum diis
vota reddentem penatum suorum ruina sepelit, ille
vehiculo lapsus properantem spiritum excussit. Cibus
avidum strangulavit, abstinentem frugalitas. Si bene
calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est. At enim 17
fluctibus obruto non contigit sepultura. Tamquam
intersit, periturum corpus quae ratio consumat, ignis
an fluctus an mora. Quicquid feceris, omnia haec eodem
ventura sunt. Ferae tamen corpus lacerabunt. Tam- 18
quam melius ignis accipiat; immo hanc poenam

19 gravissimam credimus ubi servis irascimur. Quae ergo L
dementia est, omnia facere ne quid e nobis relinquat
20 sepultura?" Et Licham quidem rogus
inimicis collatus manibus adolebat. Eumolpus autem
dum epigramma mortuo facit, oculos ad arcessendos
sensus longius mittit. *

THE APPROACH TO CROTONA

116 Hoc peracto libenter officio destinatum carpimus iter
ac momento temporis in montem sudantes conscendi-
mus, ex quo haud procul impositum arce sublimi
2 oppidum cernimus. Nec quid esset sciebamus errantes,
donec a vilico quodam Crotona esse cognovimus, urbem
3 antiquissimam et aliquando Italiae primam. Cum
deinde diligentius exploraremus qui homines inhabita-
rent nobile solum quodve genus negotiationis praecipue
4 probarent post attritas bellis frequentibus opes, "o
mi" inquit "hospites, si negotiatores estis, mutate
5 propositum aliudque vitae praesidium quaerite. Sin
autem urbanioris notae homines sustinetis semper
6 mentiri, recta ad lucrum curritis. In hac enim urbe
non litterarum studia celebrantur, non eloquentia
locum habet, non frugalitas sanctique mores laudibus
ad fructum perveniunt, sed quoscumque homines in hac
urbe videritis, scitote in duas partes esse divisos. Nam
7 aut captantur aut captant. In hac urbe nemo liberos
tollit, quia quisquis suos heredes habet non ad scenas,
non ad spectacula admittitur, sed omnibus prohibetur
8 commodis, inter ignominiosos latitat. Qui vero nec uxores
umquam duxerunt nec proximas necessitudines habent,
ad summos honores perveniunt, id est, soli militares,
9 soli fortissimi atque etiam innocentes habentur. Adi-
bitis" inquit "oppidum tamquam in pestilentia campos,
in quibus nihil aliud est nisi cadavera quae lacerantur

L aut corvi qui lacerant." * Prudentior 117
Eumolpus convertit ad novitatem rei mentem genusque
divinationis sibi non displicere confessus est. Iocari 2
ego senem poetica levitate credebam, cum ille "utinam
quidem sufficeret largior scena, id est, vestis humanior,
instrumentum lautius, quod praeberet mendacio fidem.
Non mehercules peram istam differrem, sed continuo
vos ad magnas opes ducerem. Atquin promitto, quic- 3
quid exigeret dummodo placeret ves-
tis, rapinae comes, et quicquid Lycurgi villa grassanti-
bus praebuisset. Nam nummos in praesentem usum
Deum Matrem pro sua fide reddituram"

*

"Quid ergo" inquit Eumolpus "cessamus mimum com- 4
ponere? Facite ergo me dominum, si negotiatio placet."
Nemo ausus est artem damnare nihil auferentem. 5
Itaque ut duraret inter omnes tutum mendacium, in
verba Eumolpi sacramentum iuravimus: uri, vinciri,
verberari ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus
iussisset. Tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora
animasque religiosissime addicimus. Post peractum 6
sacramentum serviliter ficti dominum consalutamus,
elatumque ab Eumolpo filium pariter condiscimus,
iuvenem ingentis eloquentiae et spei, ideoque de civitate
sua miserrimum senem exisse, ne aut clientes soda-
lesque filii sui aut sepulchrum, cotidie causam lacri-
marum, cerneret. Accessisse huic tristitiae proximum 7
naufragium, quo amplius vicies sestertium amiserit.
Nec illum iactura moveri, sed destitutum ministerio
non agnoscere dignitatem suam. Praeterea habere in 8
Africa trecenties sestertium fundis nominibusque de-
positum. Nam familiam quidem tam magnam per
agros Numidiae esse sparsam ut possit vel Cartha-
ginem capere. Secundum hanc formulam imperamus 9
Eumolpo ut plurimum tussiat, ut sit modo solutioris

stomachi cibosque omnes palam damnet. Loquatur L
aurum et argentum fundosque mendaces et perpetuam
10 terrarum sterilitatem. Sedeat praeterea cotidie ad
rationes tabulasque testamenti omnibus *mensibus*
renovet. Et ne quid scenae deesset, quotienscumque
aliquem nostrum vocare temptasset, alium pro alio
vocaret, ut facile appareret dominum etiam eorum
11 meminisse qui praesentes non essent. His ita ordinatis
"quod bene feliciterque eveniret" precati deos viam
ingredimur. Sed neque Giton sub insolito fasce durabat,
et mercennarius Corax, detrectator ministerii, posita
frequentius sarcina, maledicebat properantibus af-
firmabatque se aut proiecturum sarcinas aut cum onere
12 fugiturum. "Quid vos" inquit "me iumentum putatis
esse aut lapidariam navem? Hominis operas locavi, non
caballi. Nec minus liber sum quam vos, etiamsi
pauperem pater me reliquit." Nec contentus maledictis
tollebat subinde altius pedem et strepitu obsceno
13 simul atque odore viam implebat. Ridebat contu-
maciam Giton et singulos crepitus eius pari clamore
prosequebatur.

A THEORY OF EPIC POETRY AND A DEMONSTRATION

118 || "Multos nimirum" inquit Eumolpus "o iuvenes, LO
carmen decepit. Nam ut quisque versum pedibus
instruxit sensumque teneriorem verborum ambitu
intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse.
2 Sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad
carminis tranquillitatem tamquam ad portum facili-
orem refugerunt, credentes facilius poema extrui posse
quam controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam.
3 Ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat
neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi

LO ingenti flumine litterarum inundata. Effugiendum est ab omni verborum, ut ita dicam, vilitate et sumendae voces a plebe submotae, ut fiat 'odi profanum vulgus et arceo.' Praeterea curandum est ne sententiae emineant extra corpus orationis expressae, sed intexto vestibus colore niteant. Homerus testis et lyrici Romanusque Vergilius et Horatii curiosa felicitas. Ceteri enim aut non viderunt viam qua iretur ad carmen, aut visam timuerunt calcare. Ecce belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus litteris sub onere labetur. Non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt, sed per ambages deorumque ministeria et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum praecipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio appareat quam religiosae orationis sub testibus fides. Tamquam si placet hic impetus, etiam si nondum recepit ultimam manum:

"Orbem iam totum victor Romanus habebat, 119
Qua mare, qua terras, qua sidus currit utrumque,
Nec satiatus erat. Gravidis freta pulsa carinis
Iam peragebantur; si quis sinus abditus ultra,
Si qua foret tellus quae fulvum mitteret aurum,
Hostis erat, fatisque in tristia bella paratis
Quaerebantur opes. Non vulgo nota placebant
Gaudia, non usu plebeio trita voluptas.
Aes Ephyreiacum laudabat miles in unda;
Quaesitus tellure nitor certaverat ostro;
Hinc Numidae accusant, illinc nova vellera Seres,
Atque Arabum populus sua despoliaverat arva.
Ecce aliae clades et laesae vulnera pacis.
Quaeritur in silvis auro fera, et ultimus Hammon
Afrorum excutitur ne desit belua dente
Ad mortem pretiosa; fames premit advena classes,

Tigris et aurata gradiens vectatur in aula, LO
Ut bibat humanum populo plaudente cruorem.
Heu, pudet effari perituraque prodere fata.
Persarum ritu male pubescentibus annis
Surripuere viros exsectaque viscera ferro
In venerem fregere; atque ut fuga nobilis aevi
Circumscripta mora properantes differat annos,
Quaerit se natura nec invenit. Omnibus ergo
Scorta placent fractique enervi corpore gressus
Et laxi crines et tot nova nomina vestis,
Quaeque virum quaerunt. Ecce Afris eruta terris
Ponitur ac maculis imitatur vilibus aurum
Citrea mensa, greges servorum ostrumque renidens
Quae turbant censum. Hoc sterile ac male nobile
lignum
Turba sepulta mero circumvenit, omniaque orbis
Praemia correptis miles vagus esurit armis.
Ingeniosa gula est. Siculo scarus aequore mersus
Ad mensam vivus perducitur atque Lucrinis
Eruta litoribus vendunt conchylia cenas,
Ut renovent per damna famem. Iam Phasidos unda
Orbata est avibus, mutoque in litore tantum
Solae desertis adspirant frondibus aurae.
Nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites
Ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt.
Venalis populus, venalis curia patrum.
Est favor in pretio. Senibus quoque libera virtus
Exciderat, sparsisque opibus conversa potestas,
Ipsaque maiestas auro corrupta iacebat.
Pellitur a populo victus Cato; tristior ille est
Qui vicit fascesque pudet rapuisse Catoni.
Namque—hoc dedecoris populo morumque ruina—
Non homo pulsus erat sed in uno victa potestas
Romanumque decus. Quare tam perdita Roma
Ipsa sui merces erat et sine vindice praeda.

LO Praeterea gemino deprensam gurgite plebem
Faenoris inluvies ususque exederat aeris.
Nulla est certa domus, nullum sine pignore corpus
Sed veluti tabes tacitis concepta medullis
Intra membra furens curis latrantibus errat,
Arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu
Vulneribus reparantur. Inops audacia tuta est.
Hoc mersam caeno Romam somnoque iacentem
Quae poterant artes sana ratione movere,
Ni furor et bellum ferroque excita libido?
Tres tulerat Fortuna duces, quos obruit omnes
Armorum strue diversa feralis Enyo.
Crassum Parthus habet, Libyco iacet aequore Magnus,
Iulius ingratam perfudit sanguine Romam,
Et quasi non posset tellus tot ferre sepulchra,
Divisit cineres. Hos gloria reddit honores.
Est locus exciso penitus demersus hiatu
Parthenopen inter magnaeque Dicarchidos arva,
Cocytia perfusus aqua; nam spiritus extra
Qui furit effusus, funesto spargitur aestu.
Non haec autumno tellus viret aut alit herbas
Caespite laetus ager, non verno persona cantu
Mollia discordi strepitu virgulta loquuntur,
Sed chaos et nigro squalentia pumice saxa
Gaudent ferali circum tumulata cupressu.
Has inter sedes Ditis pater extulit ora
Bustorum flammis et cana sparsa favilla,
Ac tali volucrem Fortunam voce lacessit:
'Rerum humanarum divinarumque potestas,
Fors, cui nulla placet nimium secura potestas,
Quae nova semper amas, et mox possessa relinquis,
Ecquid Romano sentis te pondere victam
Nec posse ulterius perituram extollere molem?
Ipsa suas vires odit Romana iuventus

Et quas struxit opes male sustinet. Aspice late
Luxuriam spoliorum et censum in damna furentem.
Aedificant auro sedesque ad sidera mittunt;
Expelluntur aquae saxis; mare nascitur arvis
Et permutata rerum statione rebellant.
En etiam mea regna petunt. Perfossa dehiscit
Molibus insanis tellus, iam montibus haustis
Antra gemunt et dum vanus lapis invenit usum,
Inferni manes caelum sperare fatentur.
Quare age, Fors, muta pacatum in proelia vultum
Romanosque cie ac nostris da funera regnis.
Iam pridem nullo perfundimus ora cruore
Nec mea Tisiphone sitientes perluit artus
Ex quo Sullanus bibit ensis et horrida tellus
Extulit in lucem nutritas sanguine fruges.'
121 Haec ubi dicta dedit, dextrae coniungere dextram
Conatus rupto tellurem solvit hiatu.
Tunc Fortuna levi defudit pectore voces:
'O genitor, cui Cocyti penetralia parent,
Si modo vera mihi fas est impune profari,
Vota tibi cedent; nec enim minor ira rebellat
Pectore in hoc leviorque exurit flamma medullas.
Omnia quae tribui Romanis arcibus odi
Muneribusque meis irascor. Destruet istas
Idem qui posuit moles deus. Est mihi cordi
Quippe cremare viros et sanguine pascere luxum,
Cerno equidem gemina iam stratos morte Philippos
Thessaliaeque rogos et funera gentis Hiberae.
Iam fragor armorum trepidantes personat aures.
Et Libyae cerno tua, Nile, gementia claustra
Actiacosque sinus et Apollinis arma timentes.
Pande age terrarum sitientia regna tuarum
Atque animas accerse novas. Vix navita Porthmeus
Sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cymba:
Classe opus est. Tuque ingenti satiare ruina,

LO Pallida Tisiphone, concisaque vulnera mande.
Ad Stygios manes laceratus ducitur orbis.'
Vix dum finierat cum fulgure rupta corusco
Intremuit nubes elisosque abscidit ignes.
Subsedit pater umbrarum gremioque reducto
Telluris pavitans fraternos palluit ictus.
Continuo clades hominum venturaque damna
Auspiciis patuere deum; namque ore cruento
Deformis Titan vultus caligine texit:
Civiles acies iam tum spirare putares.
Parte alia plenos extinxit Cynthia vultus
Et lucem sceleri subduxit. Rupta tonabant
Verticibus lassis montis iuga, nec vaga passim
Flumina per notas ibant morientia ripas.
Armorum strepitu caelum furit et tuba mortem
Sideribus tremefacta ciet, iamque Aetna voratur
Ignibus insolitis et in aethera fulmina mittit.
Ecce inter tumulos atque ossa carentia bustis
Umbrarum facies diro stridore minatur.
Fax stellis comitata novis incendia ducit,
Sanguineoque recens descendit Iuppiter imbre.
Haec ostenta brevi solvit deus. Exuit omnes
Quippe moras Caesar, vindictaeque actus amore
Gallica proiecit, civilia sustulit arma.
Alpibus aeriis, ubi Graio nomine pulsae
Descendunt rupes et se patiuntur adiri,
Est locus Herculeis aris sacer: hunc nive dura
Claudit hiems canoque ad sidera vertice tollit.
Caelum illinc cecidisse putes: non solis adusti
Mansuescit radiis, non verni temporis aura,
Sed glacie concreta riget hiemisque pruinis
Totum fere potest umeris minitantibus orbem.
Haec ubi calcavit Caesar iuga milite laeto
Optavitque locum, summo de vertice montis
Hesperiae campos late prospexit et ambas

120 122 125 130 135 140 145 150

Intentans cum voce manus ad sidera dixit: LO
'Iuppiter omnipotens, et tu, Saturnia tellus,
Armis laeta meis, olimque onerata triumphis,
Testor ad has acies invitum accersere Martem,
Invitas me ferre manus. Sed vulnere cogor,
Pulsus ab urbe mea, dum Rhenum sanguine tinguo,
Dum Gallos iterum Capitolia nostra petentes
Alpibus excludo, vincendo certior exul.
Sanguine Germano sexagintaque triumphis
Esse nocens coepi. Quamquam quos gloria terret,
Aut qui sunt qui bella vident? Mercedibus emptae
Ac viles operae, quorum est mea Roma noverca.
Ut reor, haud impune nec hanc sine vindice dextram
Vinciet ignavus. Victores ite furentes,
Ite mei comites et causam dicite ferro;
Namque omnes unum crimen vocat, omnibus una
Impendet clades. Reddenda est gratia vobis:
Non solus vici. Quare quia poena trophaeis
Imminet et sordes meruit victoria nostra,
Iudice fortuna cadat alea. Sumite bellum
Et temptate manus. Certe mea causa peracta est:
Inter tot fortes armatus nescio vinci.'
Haec ubi personuit, de caelo Delphicus ales
Omina laeta dedit pepulitque meatibus auras.
Nec non horrendi nemoris de parte sinistra
Insolitae voces flamma sonuere sequenti.
Ipse nitor Phoebi vulgato laetior orbe
Crevit et aurato praecinxit fulgure vultus.
123 Fortior ominibus movit Mavortia signa
Caesar et insolitos gressu prior occupat ausus.
Prima quidem glacies et cana vincta pruina
Non pugnavit humus mitique horrore quievit
Sed postquam turmae nimbos fregere ligatos
Et pavidus quadrupes undarum vincula rupit,
Incaluere nives. Mox flumina montibus altis

LO Undabant modo nata, sed haec quoque—iussa
putares—
Stabant et vincta fluctus stupuere pruina,
Et paulo ante lues iam concidenda iacebat.
Tum vero male fida prius vestigia lusit
Decepitque pedes; pariter turmaeque virique
Armaque congesta strue deplorata iacebant.
Ecce etiam rigido concussae flamine nubes
Exonerabantur nec rupti turbine venti
Derant aut tumida confractum grandine caelum.
Ipsae iam nubes ruptae super arma cadebant
Et concreta gelu ponti velut unda ruebat.
Victa erat ingenti tellus nive, victaque caeli
Sidera, victa suis haerentia flumina ripis;
Nondum Caesar erat, sed magnam nixus in hastam
Horrida securis frangebat gressibus arva,
Qualis Caucasea decurrens arduus arce
Amphitryoniades aut torvo Iuppiter ore
Cum se verticibus magni demisit Olympi
Et perituroruni deiecit tela Gigantum.
Dum Caesar tumidas iratus deprimit arces,
Interea volucer motis conterrita pinnis
Fama volat summique petit iuga celsa Palatii
Atque hic Romano tonitru ferit omnia signa:
Iam classes fluitare mari totasque per Alpes
Fervere Germano perfusas sanguine turmas.
Arma cruor caedes incendia totaque bella
Ante oculos volitant. Ergo pulsata tumultu
Pectora perque duas scinduntur territa causas.
Huic fuga per terras, illi magis unda probatur
Et patria pontus iam tutior. Est magis arma
Qui temptare velit fatisque iubentibus uti.
Quantum quisque timet tantum fugit. Ocior ipse
Hos inter motus populus, miserabile visu,
Quo mens icta iubet, deserta ducitur urbe.

Gaudet Roma fuga debellatique Quirites LO
Rumoris sonitu maerentia tecta relinquunt.
Ille manu pavida natos tenet, ille penates
Occultat gremio deploratumque relinquit
Limen et absentem votis interficit hostem.
Sunt qui coniugibus maerentia pectora iungant
Grandaevosque patres, onerisque ignara iuventus
Id pro quo metuit tantum trahit. Omnia secum
Hic vehit imprudens praedamque in proelia ducit.
Ac velut ex alto cum magnus inhorruit auster
Et pulsas evertit aquas, non arma ministris,
Non regimen prodest, ligat alter pondera pinus
Alter tuta sinu tranquillaque litora quaerit,
Hic dat vela fugae fortunaeque omnia credit.
Quid tam parva queror? Gemino cum consule Magnus,
Ille tremor Ponti saevique repertor Hydaspis,
Et piratarum scopulus, modo quem ter ovantem
Iuppiter horruerat, quem fracto in gurgite Pontus
Et veneratus erat submissa Bosphorus unda,
Pro pudor, imperii deserto nomine fugit,
Ut Fortuna levis Magni quoque terga videret.
124 Ergo tanta lues divum quoque numina vidit,
Consensitque fugae caeli timor. Ecce per orbem
Mitis turba deum, terras exosa furentes
Deserit atque hominum damnatum avertitur agmen.
Pax prima ante alias niveos pulsata lacertos
Abscondit galea victum caput atque relicto
Orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum.
Huic comes it submissa Fides et crine soluto
Iustitia ac maerens lacera Concordia palla.
At contra sedes Erebi qua rupta dehiscit
Emergit late Ditis chorus, horrida Erinnys
Et Bellona minax facibusque armata Megaera
Letumque Insidiaeque et lurida Mortis imago.

LO Quas inter Furor, abruptis ceu liber habenis,
Sanguineum late tollit caput oraque mille
Vulneribus confossa cruenta casside velat.
Haeret detritus laevae Mavortius umbo
Innumerabilibus telis gravis atque flagranti
Stipite dextra minax terris incendia portat.
Sentit terra deos mutataque sidera pondus
Quaesivere suum; namque omnis regia caeli
In partes diducta ruit. Primumque Dione
Caesaris acta sui ducit; comes additur illi
Pallas et ingentem quatiens Mavortius hastam.
Magnum cum Phoebo soror et Cyllenia proles
Excipit ac totis similis Tirynthius actis.
Intremuere tubae ac scisso Discordia crine
Extulit ad superos Stygium caput. Huius in ore
Concretus sanguis contusaque lumina flebant;
Stabant irati scabra rubigine dentes
Tabo lingua fluens, obsessa draconibus ora,
Atque inter torto laceratam pectore vestem
Sanguineam tremula quatiebat lampada dextra.
Haec ut Cocyti tenebras et Tartara liquit,
Alta petit gradiens iuga nobilis Apennini,
Unde omnes terras atque omnia litora posset
Aspicere ac toto fluitantes orbe catervas
Atque has erumpit furibundo pectore voces:
'Sumite nunc gentes accensis mentibus arma,
Sumite et in medias immittite lampadas urbes.
Vincetur quicumque latet; non femina cesset
Non puer aut aevo iam desolata senectus;
Ipsa tremat tellus laceratque tecta rebellent.
Tu legem, Marcelle, tene. Tu concute plebem,
Curio. Tu fortem ne supprime, Lentule, Martem.
Quid porro tu, dive, tuis cunctaris in armis?
Non frangis portas, non muris oppida solvis
Thesaurosque rapis? Nescis tu, Magne, tueri

Romanas arces? Epidamni moenia quaere LO
Thessalicosque sinus humano sanguine tingue.'
Factum est in terris quicquid Discordia iussit." 295

2 Cum haec Eumolpus ingenti volubilitate verborum effudisset, tandem Crotona intravimus. Ubi quidem parvo deversorio refecti, postero die amplioris fortunae domum quaerentes incidimus in turbam heredipetarum sciscitantium quid genus hominum aut unde
3 veniremus. Ex praescripto ergo consilii communis exaggerata verborum volubilitate unde aut qui essemus haud dubie credentibus indicavimus. || Qui statim L opes suas summo cum certamine in Eumolpum con-
4 gesserunt. Certatim omnes heredipetae muneribus
125 gratiam Eumolpi sollicitant * Dum haec magno tempore Crotonae aguntur et Eumolpus felicitate plenus prioris fortunae esset oblitus statum adeo ut suis iactaret neminem gratiae suae ibi posse resistere impuneque suos si quid deliquissent in ea
2 urbe beneficio amicorum laturos. Ceterum ego, etsi cotidie magis magisque superfluentibus bonis saginatum corpus impleveram putabamque a custodia mei removisse vultum Fortunam, tamen saepius tam consuetudinem meam cogitabam quam causam, et
3 "quid" aiebam "si callidus captator exploratorem in Africam miserit mendaciumque deprehenderit nostrum? Quid si etiam mercennarius praesenti felicitate lassus indicium ad amicos detulerit totamque fallaciam
4 invidiosa proditione detexerit? Nempe rursus fugiendum erit et tandem expugnata paupertas nova mendicitate revocanda. Dii deaeque, quam male est extra legem viventibus. Quicquid meruerunt semper exspectant." *

THE ADVENTURE OF POLYAENOS AND CIRCE

L "Quia nosti venerem tuam, superbiam captas ven- 126
disque amplexus, non commodas. Quo enim spectant 2
flexae pectine comae, quo facies medicamine attrita et
oculorum quoque mollis petulantia, quo incessus tute
compositus et ne vestigia quidem pedum extra men-
suram aberrantia, nisi quod formam prostituis ut
vendas? Vides me: nec auguria novi nec mathemati- 3
corum caelum curare soleo, ex vultibus tamen homi-
num mores colligo, et cum spatiantem vidi quid
cogites scio. Sive ergo nobis vendis quod peto, mer- 4
cator paratus est; sive, quod humanius est, commodas,
effice ut beneficium debeam. Nam quod servum te et 5
humilem fateris, accendis desiderium aestuantis.
Quaedam enim feminae sordibus calent, nec libidinem
concitant nisi aut servos viderint aut statores altius
cinctos. Arena alias accendit aut perfusus pulvere 6
mulio aut histrio scenae ostentatione traductus. Ex 7
hac nota domina est mea: usque ab orchestra quattuor-
decim transilit et in extrema plebe quaerit quod
diligat." Itaque oratione blandissima plenus "rogo" 8
inquam "numquid illa quae me amat tu es?" Multum
risit ancilla post tam frigidum schema et "nolo" inquit
"tibi tam valde placeas. Ego adhuc servo numquam 9
succubui nec hoc dii sinant ut amplexus meos in
crucem mittam. Viderint matronae quae flagellorum 10
vestigia osculantur. Ego etiam si ancilla sum numquam
tamen nisi in equestribus sedeo." Mirari equidem tam 11
discordem libidinem coepi atque inter monstra nu-
merare, quod ancilla haberet matronae superbiam et
LO matrona ancillae humilitatem. || Procedentibus deinde 12
longius iocis rogavi ancillam ut in platanona perduceret
dominam. Itaque collegit altius tunicam flexitque se
in eum daphnona qui ambulationi haerebat. Nec diu 13

morata dominam producit e latebris laterique meo LO
applicat mulierem omnibus simulacris emendatiorem.
14 Nulla vox est quae formam eius possit comprehendere,
15 nam quicquid dixero minus erit. Crines ingenio suo
flexi per totos se umeros effuderant, frons minima et
quae radices capillorum retro flexerat, supercilia usque
ad malarum scripturam currentia et rursus confinio
luminum paene permixta, oculi clariores stellis extra
16 lunam fulgentibus, nares paululum inflexae et osculum
17 quale Praxiteles habere Dianam credidit. Iam mentum,
iam cervix, iam manus, iam pedum candor intra auri
gracile vinculum positus: Parium marmor extinxerat.
18 Itaque tunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsi.

*

Quid factum est quod tu proiectis, Iuppiter, armis
Inter caelicolas fabula muta taces?
Nunc erat a torvo submittere cornua fronte,
Nunc pluma canos dissimulare tuos.
Haec vera est Danae. Tempta modo tangere corpus,
Iam tua flammifero membra calore fluent.

*

127 Delectata illa risit tam blandum ut videretur mihi
plenum os extra nubem luna proferre. Mox digitis
gubernantibus vocem "si non fastidis" inquit
"mulierem ornatam et hoc primum anno virum
2 expertam, concilio tibi, o iuvenis, sororem. Habes tu
quidem et fratrem, neque enim me piguit inquirere;
sed quid prohibet et sororem adoptare? Eodem gradu
venio. Tu tantum dignare et meum osculum cum
3 libuerit agnosce." "Immo" inquam "ego per formam
tuam te rogo ne fastidias hominem peregrinum inter
cultores admittere. Invenies religiosum si te adorari
permiseris. Ac ne me iudices ad hoc templum Amoris
4 gratis accedere, dono tibi fratrem meum." "Quidni?"
inquit illa "Donas mihi eum sine quo non potes vivere,

LO ex cuius osculo pendes, quem sic tu amas quemadmodum te volo?" Haec ipsa cum diceret, tanta gratia conciliabat vocem loquentis, tam dulcis sonus pertemptatum mulcebat aera ut putares inter auras canere Sirenum concordiam. Itaque miranti et toto mihi caelo clarius nescio quid relucente, libuit deae nomen quaerere. "Ita" inquit "non dixit tibi ancilla mea me 6
Circen vocari? Non sum quidem Solis progenies, nec mea mater dum placet labentis mundi cursum detinuit. Habebo tamen quod caelo imputem si nos fata coniunxerint. Immo iam nescio quid tacitis cogitationibus deus agit. Nec sine causa Polyaenon Circe amat: 7
semper inter haec nomina magna fax surgit. Sume ergo amplexum si placet, neque est quod curiosum aliquem extimescas. Longe ab hoc loco frater est." Dixit haec 8
Circe implicitumque me brachiis mollioribus pluma deduxit in terram vario gramine indutam.

Idaeo quales fudit de vertice flores 9
Terra parens cum se confesso iunxit amori
Iuppiter et toto concepit pectore flammas:
Emicuere rosae violaeque et molle cyperon,
Albaque de viridi riserunt lilia prato.
Talis humus Venerem molles clamavit in herbas
Candidiorque dies secreto favit amori.

In hoc gramine pariter compositi mille osculis lusimus, 10
quaerentes voluptatem robustam. *

L || "Quid est?" inquit "numquid te osculum meum 128
offendit? Numquid spiritus ieiunio macer? Numquid alarum negligens sudor? Si haec non sunt, numquid Gitona times?" Perfusus ego rubore manifesto etiam 2
si quid habueram virium perdidi, totoque corpore veluti laxato, "quaeso" inquam "regina, noli suggillare miserias. Veneficio contactus sum." *

3 "Dic, Chrysis, sed verum: numquid indecens sum? L
Numquid incompta? Numquid ab aliquo naturali vitio
formam meam excaeco? Noli decipere dominam tuam.
4 Nescio quid peccavimus." Rapuit deinde tacenti
speculum et postquam omnes vultus temptavit, quos
solet inter amantes risus fingere excussit vexatam solo
5 vestem raptimque aedem Veneris intravit. Ego contra
damnatus et quasi quodam visu in horrorem perduc-
tus, interrogare animum meum coepi an vera voluptate
fraudatus essem.

6 || Nocte soporifera veluti cum somnia ludunt LO
Errantes oculos effossaque protulit aurum
In lucem tellus, versat manus improba furtum
Thesaurosque rapit, sudor quoque perluit ora
Et mentem timor altus habet, ne forte gravatum 5
Excutiat gremium secreti conscius auri:
Mox ubi fugerunt elusam gaudia mentem
Veraque forma redit, animus quod perdidit optat
Atque in praeterita se totus imagine versat

*

7 || "Itaque hoc nomine tibi gratias ago quod me L
Socratica fide diligis. Non tam intactus Alcibiades in
129 praeceptoris lecto iacuit." * "Crede
mihi, frater, non intelligo me virum esse, non sentio.
Funerata est illa pars corporis qua quondam Achilles
2 eram." * Veritus puer ne in secreto
deprehensus daret sermonibus locum, proripuit se
et in partem aedium interiorem fugit *
3 || Cubiculum autem meum Chrysis intravit codi- LO
cillosque mihi dominae suae reddidit in quibus
4 haec erant scripta: "Circe Polyaeno salutem. Si
libidinosa essem quererer decepta; nunc etiam lan-
guori tuo gratias ago. In umbra voluptatis diutius
5 lusi. Quid tamen agas quaero, et an tuis pedibus

LO perveneris domum; negant enim medici sine nervis homines ambulare posse. Narrabo tibi, adolescens, 6
paralysin cave. Numquam aegrum tam magno periculo vidi: mediusfidius iam peristi. Quod si idem frigus 7
genua manusque temptaverit tuas, licet ad tubicines mittas. Quid ergo est? Etiamsi gravem iniuriam 8
accepi, homini tam misero non invideo medicinam. Si vis sanus esse, Gitona roga. Recipies, inquam, nervos
tuos si triduo sine fratre dormieris. Nam quod ad me 9
attinet, non timeo ne quis inveniatur cui minus placeam. Nec speculum mihi nec fama mentitur. Vale si potes." Ut intellexit Chrysis perlegisse me totum 10
convicium, "solent" inquit "haec fieri, et praecipue in hac civitate in qua mulieres etiam lunam deducunt.
Itaque huius quoque rei cura agetur. 11
Rescribe modo blandius dominae animumque eius candida humanitate restitue. Verum enim fatendum est, ex qua hora iniuriam accepit apud se non est."
Libenter quidem parui ancillae verbaque codicillis 12
talia imposui: "Polyaenos Circae salutem: Fateor me, 130
domina, saepe peccasse, nam et homo sum et adhuc iuvenis. Numquam tamen ante hunc diem usque ad mortem deliqui. Habes confitentem reum; quicquid iusseris merui. Proditionem feci, hominem occidi, 2
templum violavi: in haec facinora quaere supplicium. Sive occidere placet, ferro meo venio; sive verberibus 3
contenta es, curro nudus ad dominam. Illud unum 4
memento: non me sed instrumenta peccasse. Paratus miles arma non habui. Quis hoc turbaverit, nescio. 5
Forsitan animus antecesserit corporis moram, forsitan dum omnia concupisco, voluptatem tempore consumpsi. Non invenio quod feci. Paralysin tamen 6
cavere iubes, tamquam iam maior fieri possit quae abstulit mihi per quod etiam te habere potui. Summa tamen excusationis meae haec est: placebo tibi si me

7 culpam emendare permiseris." || Dimissa cum L
eiusmodi pollicitatione Chryside, curavi diligentius
noxiosissimum corpus, balneoque praeterito modica
unctione usus, mox cibis validioribus pastus, id est,
bulbis cochlearumque sine iure cervicibus, hausi
8 parcius merum. Hinc ante somnum levissima ambu-
latione compositus sine Gitone cubiculum intravi.
Tanta erat placandi cura ut timerem ne latus meum
131 frater convelleret. Postero die cum sine offensa corporis
animique consurrexissem, in eundem platanona de-
scendi, etiam si locum inauspicatum timebam, coepique
2 inter arbores ducem itineris exspectare Chrysidem. Nec
diu spatiatus consederam, ubi hesterno die fueram, cum
illa intervenit comitem aniculam trahens. Atque ut me
3 consalutavit, "quid est" inquit "fastose, ecquid bonam
4 mentem habere coepisti?" Illa de sinu licium protulit
varii coloris filis intortum cervicemque vinxit meam.
Mox turbatum sputo pulverem medio sustulit digito
5 frontemque repugnantis signavit. Hoc peracto carmine
ter me iussit exspuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum,
quos ipsa praecantatos purpura involverat, admotisque
6 manibus temptare coepit inguinum vires. Dicto citius
nervi paruerunt imperio manusque aniculae ingenti
7 motu repleverunt. At illa gaudio exultans, "vides"
inquit "Chrysis mea, quod aliis leporem excitavi?"

*

8 || Nobilis aestivas platanus diffuderat umbras LO
Et bacis redimita Daphne tremulaeque cupressus
Et circumtonsae trepidanti vertice pinus.
Has inter ludebat aquis trepidantibus amnis
Spumeus et querulo vexabat rore lapillos. 5
Dignus amore locus: testis silvestris aedon
Atque urbana Procne, quae circum gramina fusae
Et molles violas cantu sua rura colebant.

*

LO Premebat illa resoluta marmoreis cervicibus aureum torum myrtaque florenti quietum verberabat. Itaque ut me vidit paululum erubuit, hesternae scilicet iniuriae memor, deinde ut remotis omnibus secundum invitantem consedi, ramum super oculos meos posuit, et quasi pariete interiecto audacior facta "quid est" inquit "paralytice, ecquid hodie totus venisti?" "Rogas" inquam ego "potius quam temptas?" Totoque corpore in amplexum eius immissus non praecantatis usque ad satietatem osculis fruor. * 9 10 11

L || Ipsa corporis pulchritudine me ad se vocante trahebat ad venerem. Iam pluribus osculis collisa labra crepitabant, iam implicitae manus omne genus amoris invenerant, iam alligata mutuo ambitu corpora animarum quoque mixturam fecerant. * 132

Manifestis matrona contumeliis verberata tandem ad ultionem decurrit vocatque cubicularios et me iubet catomidiari. Nec contenta mulier tam gravi iniuria mea convocat omnes quasillarias familiaeque sordidissimam partem ac me conspui iubet. Oppono ego manus oculis meis, nullisque effusis precibus, quia sciebam quid meruissem, verberibus sputisque extra ianuam eiectus sum. Eicitur et Proselenos, Chrysis vapulat, totaque familia tristis inter se mussat quaeritque quis dominae hilaritatem confuderit. 2 3 4 5

Itaque pensatis vicibus animosior verberum notas arte contexi, ne aut Eumolpus contumelia mea hilarior fieret LO aut tristior Giton. || Quod solum igitur salvo pudore poteram contingere, languorem simulavi conditusque lectulo totum ignem furoris in eam converti quae mihi omnium malorum causa fuerat. 6 7

Ter corripui terribilem manu bipennem; 8
Ter languidior coliculi repente thyrso
Ferrum timui, quod trepido male dabat usum.

Nec iam poteram quod modo conficere libebat; LO
Namque illa metu frigidior rigente bruma
Confugerat in viscera mille operta rugis.
Ita non potui supplicio caput aperire,
Sed furciferae mortifero timore lusus
Ad verba magis quae poterant nocere fugi.

9 Erectus igitur in cubitum hac fere oratione contumacem vexavi: "Quid dicis" inquam "omnium hominum
10 deorumque pudor? Nam ne nominare quidem te inter res serias fas est. Hoc de te merui ut me in caelo positum ad inferos traheres? || Ut traduceres L
annos primo florentes vigore senectaeque ultimae mihi lassitudinem imponeres? Rogo te, mihi apodixin de-
11 functoriam redde." Haec ut iratus effudi,

|| Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat, LO
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
Quam lentae salices lassove papavera collo.

12 Nec minus ego tam foeda obiurgatione finita paenitentiam agere sermonis mei coepi secretoque rubore perfundi, quod oblitus verecundiae meae cum ea parte corporis verba contulerim quam ne ad cognitionem quidem admittere severioris notae homines solerent.
13 Mox perfricata diutius fronte "quid autem ego" inquam "mali feci, si dolorem meum naturali convicio exoneravi? Aut quid est quod in corpore humano ventri maledicere solemus aut gulae capitique etiam cum saepius dolet? Quid? Non et Ulixes cum corde litigat suo || et quidam tragici oculos suos tamquam audientes L
14 castigant? Podagrici pedibus suis maledicunt, chiragrici manibus, lippi oculis, et qui offenderunt saepe digitos, quicquid doloris habent in pedes deferunt."

THE ARTIST'S APOLOGY

LO || Quid me constricta spectatis fronte, Catones,
Damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus?
Sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet,
Quodque facit populus, candida lingua refert.
Nam quis concubitus, Veneris quis gaudia nescit?
Quis vetat in tepido membra calere toro?
Ipse pater veri doctus Epicurus in arte
Iussit et hoc vitam dixit habere τέλος.

L || Nihil est hominum inepta persuasione falsius nec ficta severitate ineptius *

LO || Hac declamatione finita Gitona voco et "narra mihi" inquam "frater, sed tua fide, ea nocte qua te mihi Ascyltos subduxit, usque in iniuriam vigilavit an contentus fuit vidua pudicaque nocte?" Tetigit puer oculos suos conceptissimisque iuravit verbis sibi ab Ascylto nullam vim factam. *
Positoque in limine genu sic deprecatus sum numina versu:

"Nympharum Bacchique comes, quem pulchra Dione
Divitibus silvis numen dedit, inclita paret
Cui Lesbos viridisque Thasos, quem Lydus adorat
Septifluus templumque tuis imponit Hypaepis,
Huc ades et Bacchi tutor Dryadumque voluptas
Et timidas admitte preces. Non sanguine tristi
Perfusus venio, non templis impius hostis
Admovi dextram, sed inops et rebus egenis
Attritus facinus non toto corpore feci.
Quisquis peccat inops minor est reus. Hac prece, quaeso,
Exonera mentem culpaeque ignosce minori,
Et quandoque mihi fortunae adriserit hora,

Non sine honore tuum patiar decus. Ibit ad aras, LO
Sancte, tuas hircus pecoris pater. Ibit ad aras
Corniger et querulae fetus suis, hostia lactans. 15
Spumabit pateris hornus liquor et ter ovantem
Circa delubrum gressum feret ebrius pubes."

*

4 Dum haec ago curaque sollerti deposito meo caveo, intravit delubrum anus laceratis crinibus nigraque veste deformis, extraque vestibulum me iniecta manu duxit.

*

134 || "Quae striges comederunt nervos tuos, aut quod L
2 purgamentum nocte calcasti in trivio aut cadaver? Ne a puero quidem te vindicasti, sed mollis, debilis, lassus tamquam caballus in clivo, et operam et sudorem perdidisti. Nec contentus ipse peccare, mihi deos excitasti."

*

3 || Ac me iterum in cellam sacerdotis nihil recusantem LO
perduxit impulitque super lectum et harundinem ab ostio rapuit iterumque nihil respondentem mulcavit.
4 Ac nisi primo ictu harundo quassata impetum verberantis minuisset, forsitan etiam brachia mea
5 caputque fregisset. Ingemui ego utique propter mascarpionem lacrimisque ubertim manantibus ob-
6 scuratum dextra caput super pulvinum inclinavi. Nec minus illa fletu confusa altera parte lectuli sedit aetatisque longae moram tremulis vocibus coepit ac-
7 cusare donec intervenit sacerdos. "Quid vos" inquit "in cellam meam tamquam ante recens bustum venistis? || Utique die feriarum, quo etiam lugentes O
8 rident." || "O" inquit "Oenothea, hunc adolescentem LO
quem vides malo astro natus est. Nam neque puero
9 neque puellae bona sua vendere potest. || Numquam L
tu hominem tam infelicem vidisti: lorum in aqua, non inguina habet. || Ad summam, qualem putas esse qui LO
10 de Circes toro sine voluptate surrexit?" His auditis

LO Oenothea inter utrumque consedit motoque diutius
L capite || "istum" inquit "morbum sola sum quae
emendare scio. Et ne putetis perplexe agere, rogo ut 11
adolescentulus mecum nocte dormiat.
Nisi illum tam rigidum reddidero quam cornu."
LO || "Quicquid in orbe vides paret mihi. Florida tellus 12
Cum volo spissatis arescit languida sucis,
Cum volo fundit opes, scopulique atque horrida saxa
Niliacas iaculantur aquas. Mihi pontus inertes
Submittit fluctus zephyrique tacentia ponunt 5
Ante meos sua flabra pedes. Mihi flumina parent
Hyrcanaeque tigres et iussi stare dracones.
Quid leviora loquor? Lunae descendit imago
Carminibus deducta meis, trepidusque furentes
Flectere Phoebus equos revoluto cogitur orbe. 10
Tantum dicta valent. Taurorum flamma quiescit
Virgineis extincta sacris, Phoebeaque Circe
Carminibus magicis socios mutavit Ulixis.
Proteus esse solet quicquid libet. His ego callens
Artibus Idaeos frutices in gurgite sistam 15
Et rursus fluvios in summo vertice ponam."

Inhorrui ego tam fabulosa pollicitatione conterritus 135
anumque inspicere diligentius coepi. "Ergo" exclamat 2
Oenothea "imperio parete" detersisque curiose manibus inclinavit se in lectulum ac me semel iterumque
L basiavit. || Oenothea mensam veterem posuit in medio 3
altari quam vivis implevit carbonibus et camellam
etiam vetustate ruptam pice temperata refecit. Tum 4
clavum qui detrahentem secutus cum camella lignea
LO fuerat fumoso parieti reddidit. || Mox incincta quadrato pallio cucumam ingentem foco adposuit simulque
pannum de carnario detulit furca, in quo faba erat ad
L usum reposita || et sincipitis vetustissima particula
LO mille plagis dolata. || Ut solvit ergo licio pannum, 5

partem leguminis super mensam effudit iussitque me LO
diligenter purgare. Servio ego imperio granaque sordissimis putaminibus vestita curiosa manu segrego.
6 At illa inertiam meam accusans improba tollit dentibusque folliculos pariter spoliat atque in terram veluti muscarum imagines despuit. *
7 Mirabar equidem paupertatis ingenium singularumque rerum quasdam artes. *

8 Non Indum fulgebat ebur quod inhaeserat auro,
Nec iam calcato radiabat marmore terra
Muneribus delusa suis, sed crate saligna
Impositum Cereris vacuae nemus et nova terrae
Pocula quae facili vilis rota finxerat astu. 5
Hinc molli stilla lacus et de caudice lento
Ulmineae lances maculataque testa Lyaeo.
At paries circa palea satiatus inani
Fortuitoque luto clavus numerabat agrestes
Et viridi iunco gracilis pendebat harundo. 10
Praeterea quae fumoso suspensa tigillo
Conservabat opes humilis casa, mitia sorba
Inter odoratas pendebant texta coronas
Et tymbrae veteres et passis uva racemis.
Qualis in Actaea quondam fuit hospita terra, 15
Digna sacris Hecates, quam Musa loquentibus annis
Baccineas veteres mirandam tradidit aevo.
Dum illa carnis etiam paululum delibat et dum 136
coaequale natalium suorum sinciput in carnarium furca reponit, fracta est putris sella quae staturae altitudinem adiecerat anumque suo pondere deiectam super
2 foculum mittit. Frangitur ergo cervix cucumulae ignemque convalescentem restinguit. || Vexat cubitum L
ipsa stipite ardenti || faciemque totam excitato cinere LO
3 perfudit. Consurrexi equidem turbatus anumque non sine risu meo erexi. || Statimque ne res aliqua sacri- L

L ficium moraretur ad reficiendum ignem in viciniam cucurrit.

THE ADVENTURE OF THE SACRED GEESE

O/LO || Itaque ad casae ostiolum processi || cum ecce tres 4
L anseres sacri || qui ut puto medio die solebant ab anu
LO diaria exigere || impetum in me faciunt foedoque ac veluti rabioso stridore circumsistunt trepidantem atque alius tunicam meam lacerat, alius vincula calceamentorum resolvit ac trahit, unus etiam, dux ac magister saevitiae, non dubitavit crus meum serrato vexare morsu. Oblitus itaque nugarum pedem mensulae extorsi 5 coepique pugnacissimum animal armata elidere manu. Nec satiatus defunctorio ictu morte me anseris vindicavi:

> Tales Herculea Stymphalidas arte coactas 6
> Ad caelum fugisse reor, pinnaeque fluentis
> Harpyias, cum Phineo maduere veneno
> Fallaces epulae. Tremuit perterritus aether
> Planctibus insolitis confusaque regia caeli. 5

L ||Iam reliqui revolutam passimque per totum effusam 7
pavimentum collegerant fabam, orbatique ut existimo duce redierant in templum, cum ego praeda simul atque hac vindicta gaudens post lectum occisum anserem mitto vulnusque cruris haud altum aceto diluo. Deinde convicium verens abeundi formavi consilium, 8
collectoque cultu meo ire extra casam coepi. Necdum 9
libaveram cellulae limen cum animadverto Oenotheam cum testo ignis pleno venientem. Reduxi igitur gradum 10
proiectaque veste tamquam exspectarem morantem in aditu steti. Collocavit illa ignem cassis harundinibus 11
collectum ingestisque super pluribus lignis excusare

coepit moram, quod amica se non dimisisset tribus nisi L
potionibus e lege siccatis. "Quid porro tu" inquit "me
12 absente fecisti, aut ubi est faba?" Ego qui putaveram
me rem laude etiam dignam fecisse, ordine illi totum
proelium exposui, et ne diutius tristis esset, iacturae
13 pensionem anserem obtuli. Quem || anus ut vidit, tam LO
magnum aeque clamorem sustulit ut putares iterum
14 anseres limen intrasse. Confusus igitur et novitate
facinoris attonitus quaerebam quid excanduisset, aut
137 quare anseris potius quam mei misereretur. At illa com-
plosis manibus "scelerate" inquit "etiam loqueris?
2 Nescis quam magnum flagitium admiseris? Occidisti
Priapi delicias, anserem omnibus matronis acceptis-
simum. Itaque ne te putes nihil egisse, si magistratus
3 hoc scierit, ibis in crucem. Polluisti sanguine domi-
cilium meum ante hunc diem inviolatum, fecistique ut
me quisquis voluerit inimicus sacerdotio pellat." ||
4 "Rogo" inquam "noli clamare; ego tibi pro ansere L
5 struthocamelum reddam." Dum haec
me stupente in lectulo sedet anserisque fatum com-
plorat, interim Proselenos cum impensa sacrificii venit,
visoque ansere occiso sciscitata causam tristitiae, et
ipsa flere vehementius coepit meique misereri tamquam
patrem meum non publicum anserem occidissem.
6 Itaque taedio fatigatus "rogo" inquam "expiare manus
pretio licet si vos provocassem, etiam
si homicidium fecissem. Ecce duos aureos pono, unde
7 possitis et deos et anseres emere." Quod ut vidit
Oenothea "ignosce" inquit "adolescens, sollicita sum
8 tua causa. Amoris est hoc argumentum, non malignitatis. Itaque dabimus operam ne quis hoc sciat. Tu
modo deos roga ut illi facto tuo ignoscant."

9 || Quisquis habet nummos, secura naviget aura LO
Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio.

LO Uxorem ducat Danaen, ipsumque licebit
Acrisium iubeat credere quod Danaen.
Carmina componat, declamet, concrepet omnes
Et peragat causas sitque Catone prior.
Iurisconsultus "parret", "non parret" habeto
Atque esto quicquid Servius et Labeo.
Multa loquor: quod vis nummis praesentibus opta,
Et veniet. Clausum possidet arca Iovem.

L || Infra manus meas camellam vini posuit, et cum digitos pariter extensos porris apioque lustrasset abellanas nuces, cum precatione mersit in vinum et sive in summum redierant sive subsederant, ex hoc coniecturam dicebat. Nec me fallebat inanes scilicet ac sine medulla ventosas nuces in summo umore consistere, graves autem et plenas integro fructu ad ima deferri.

*

Recluso pectore extraxit fartissimum iecur et inde mihi futura praedixit. Immo, ne quod vestigium sceleris superesset, totum anserem laceratum verubus confixit epulasque etiam lautas paulo ante ut ipsa dicebat perituro paravit. Volabant inter haec potiones meracae.

*

Profert Oenothea scorteum fascinum, quod ut oleo et minuto pipere atque urticae trito circumdedit semine, paulatim coepit inserere anu meo. *
Hoc crudelissima anus spargit subinde umore femina mea. * Nasturcii sucum cum habrotano miscet, perfusisque inguinibus meis viridis urticae fascem comprehendit omniaque infra umbilicum lenta manu caedere. *
Aniculae quamvis solutae mero ac libidine essent eandem viam temptant et per aliquot vicos secutae fugientem "prehende furem" clamant. Evasi tamen omnibus digitis inter praecipitem decursum cruentatis.

*

"Chrysis, quae priorem fortunam tuam oderat, hanc vel cum periculo capitis persequi destinat." I.

*

"Quid huic formae aut Ariadne habuit aut Leda simile? Quid contra hanc Helene, quid Venus posset? Ipse Paris, dearum libidinantium iudex, si hanc in comparatione vidisset tam petulantibus oculis et Helenen huic donasset et deas. Saltem si permitteretur osculum capere, si illud caeleste ac divinum pectus amplecti, forsitan rediret hoc corpus ad vires et resipiscerent partes veneficio, credo, sopitae. Nec me contumeliae lassant; quod verberatus sum, nescio; quod eiectus sum, lusum puto. Modo redire in gratiam liceat."

*

Torum frequenti tractatione vexavi amoris mei quasi quandam imaginem. *

"Non solum me numen et implacabile fatum
Persequitur. Prius Inachia Tirynthius ira
Exagitatus onus caeli tulit, ante profanam
Iunonem Pelias sensit, tulit inscius arma
Laomedon, gemini satiavit numinis iram
Telephus et regnum Neptuni pavit Ulixes.
Me quoque per terras, per cani Nereos aequor
Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi."

Quaerere a Gitone meo coepi num aliquis me quaesisset. "Nemo" inquit "hodie, sed hesterno die mulier quaedam haud inculta ianuam intravit, cumque diu mecum esset locuta et me accersito sermone lassasset, ultimo coepit dicere te noxam meruisse daturumque serviles poenas si laesus in querela perseverasset." *

Nondum querelam finieram cum Chrysis intervenit amplexuque effusissimo me invasit et "teneo te" inquit "qualem speraveram: tu desiderium meum, tu voluptas

L mea, numquam finies hunc ignem nisi sanguine extinxeris."

*

Unus ex noviciis servulis subito accurrit et mihi dominum iratissimum esse affirmat quod biduo iam officio defuissem. Recte ergo me facturum si excusationem aliquam idoneam praeparassem. Vix enim posse fieri ut rabies irascentis sine verbere consideret.

*

Matrona inter primas honesta, Philomela nomine, quae multas saepe hereditates officio aetatis extorserat, tamen anus et floris extincti, filium filiamque ingerebat orbis senibus, et per hanc successionem artem suam perseverabat extendere. Ea ergo ad Eumolpum venit et commendare liberos suos eius prudentiae bonitatique credere se et vota sua. Illum esse solum in toto orbe terrarum qui praeceptis etiam salubribus instruere iuvenes cotidie posset. Ad summam, relinquere se pueros in domo Eumolpi, ut illum loquentem audirent, quae sola posset hereditas iuvenibus dari. Nec aliter facit ac dixerat, filiamque speciosissimam cum fratre ephebo in cubiculo reliquit simulavitque se in templum ire ad vota nuncupanda. Eumolpus, qui tam frugi erat ut illi etiam ego puer viderer, non distulit puellam invitare ad pigiciaca sacra. Sed et podagricum se esse lumborumque solutorum omnibus dixerat, et si non servasset integram simulationem, periclitabatur totam paene tragoediam evertere. Itaque ut constaret mendacio fides, puellam quidem exoravit ut sederet supra commendatam bonitatem, Coraci autem imperavit ut lectum in quo ipse iacebat subiret positisque in pavimento manibus dominum lumbis suis commoveret. Ille lente parebat imperio puellaeque artificium pari motu remunerabat. Cum ergo res ad effectum spectaret, clara Eumolpus voce exhortabatur Coraca ut spissaret officium. Sic inter mercennarium amicamque positus

140 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10 senex veluti oscillatione ludebat. Hoc semel iterumque L
11 ingenti risu etiam suo Eumolpus fecerat. Itaque ego quoque, ne desidia consuetudinem perderem, dum frater sororis suae automata per clostellum miratur, accessi temptaturus an pateretur iniuriam. Nec se reiciebat a blanditiis doctissimus puer, sed me numen inimicum ibi quoque invenit. *

12 "Dii maiores sunt qui me restituerunt in integrum. Mercurius enim, qui animas ducere et reducere solet, suis beneficiis reddidit mihi quod manus irata praeciderat, ut scias me gratiosiorem esse quam Protesi-
13 laum aut quemquam alium antiquorum." Haec locutus sustuli tunicam Eumolpoque me totum approbavi. At ille primo exhorruit, deinde ut plurimum crederet, utraque manu deorum beneficium tractat.

*

14 "Socrates, deorum hominumque
gloriari solebat quod numquam neque in tabernam conspexerat neque ullius turbae frequentioris concilio oculos suos crediderat. Adeo nihil est commodius quam semper cum sapientia loqui." *

15 "Omnia" inquam "ista vera sunt; nec ulli enim celerius homines incidere debent in malam fortunam quam qui alienum concupiscunt. Unde plani autem, unde levatores viverent, nisi aut locellos aut sonantes aere sacellos pro hamis in turbam mitterent? Sicut muta animalia cibo inescantur, sic homines non caperentur nisi spei aliquid morderent."

*

THE WILL OF EUMOLPUS

141 "Ex Africa navis ut promiseras cum pecunia tua et familia non venit. Captatores iam exhausti liberali-

L tatem imminuerunt. Itaque aut fallor aut fortuna communis coepit redire ad paenitentiam suam."

*

"Omnes qui in testamento meo legata habent praeter libertos meos hac condicione percipient quae dedi, si corpus meum in partes conciderint et astante populo comederint. Apud quasdam gentes scimus adhuc legem servari, ut a propinquis suis consumantur defuncti, adeo quidem ut obiurgentur aegri frequenter quod carnem faciant peiorem. His admoneo amicos meos ne recusent quae iubeo, sed quibus animis devoverint spiritum meum, eisdem etiam corpus consumant."

*

Excaecabat pecuniae ingens fama oculos animosque miserorum. *

Gorgias paratus erat exsequi *

"De stomachi tui recusatione non habeo quod timeam. Sequetur imperium si promiseris illi pro unius horae fastidio multorum bonorum pensationem. Operi modo oculos et finge te non humana viscera sed centies sestertium comesse. Accedet huc quod aliqua inveniemus blandimenta quibus saporem mutemus. Neque enim ulla caro per se placet, sed arte quadam corrumpitur et stomacho conciliatur averso. Quod si exemplis quoque vis probari consilium, Saguntini oppressi ab Hannibale humanas edere carnes, nec hereditatem exspectabant. Petavii idem fecerunt in ultima fame, nec quicquam aliud in hac epulatione captabant nisi tantum ne esurirent. Cum esset Numantia a Scipione capta, inventae sunt matres quae liberorum suorum tenerent semesa in sinu corpora."

* * *

FRAGMENTS

I

Servius ad Vergilii *Aen.*3:57 (on *auri sacra fames*); sacra, id est, execrabilis. Tractus est autem sermo ex more Gallorum. Nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis *sumptibus* et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiciebatur. Hoc autem in Petronio lectum est.

II

Servius ad Vergilii *Aen.* 12:159 *de feminino nominum in* tor *exeuntium genere:* si autem a verbo non venerint, communia sunt. Nam similiter et masculina et feminina in TOR exeunt, ut hic et haec senator, hic et haec balneator, licet Petronius usurpaverit "balneatricem" dicens . . .

III

Pseudacro ad Horatii epod. 5:48 (on *Canidia rodens pollicem*): habitum et motum Canidiae expressit furentis. Petronius ut monstraret furentem "pollice" ait "usque ad periculum roso."

IV

Sidonius Apollinaris carminis 23:

Quid vos eloquii canam Latini,
Arpinas, Patavine, Mantuane? . . .

Et te Massiliensium per hortos
Sacri stipitis, Arbiter, colonum
Hellespontiaco parem Priapo?

V

Priscianus institutionum 8:16 p. 381 et 11:29 p. 567 Hertzii inter exempla quibus deponentium verborum participia praeteriti temporis passivam significationem habere declarat: Petronius "animam nostro amplexam pectore."

V b

Boethius in Porphyrium a Victorino translatum dialogo 2 extremo p. 45 exemplarium Basiliensium: ego faciam, inquit, libentissime. Sed quoniam iam matutinus, ut ait Petronius, sol tectis arrisit, surgamus, et si quid est illud, diligentiore postea consideratione tractabitur.

VI *

Fulgentius mythologiarum 1 p. 12s. Helmii: nescis . . . . quantum Saturam matronae formident. Licet mulierum verbialibus undis et causidici cedant nec grammatici muttiant, rhetor taceat et clamorem praeco compescat (*cf. Iuv. Sat.* 6:438*ss.*), sola est quae modum imponit furentibus, licet Petroniana subet (subit *libri*) Albucia. Hac etenim alludente et Plautinae Saureae dominatus obdormit et Sulpicillae Ausonianae loquacitas deperit Sallustianaeque Semproniae quamvis praesens sit Catilina melos cantandi raucescit.

VII *

Fulgentius mythologiarum 3:8 p. 73 ubi sucum myrrhae valde fervidum esse dixit: unde et Petronius Arbiter

ad libidinis concitamentum myrrhinum se poculum bibisse refert.

VIII *

Fulgentius in expositione Vergilianae continentiae p. 98: Tricerberi enim fabulam iam superius exposuimus in modum iurgii forensisque litigii positam. Unde et Petronius in Euscion ait "Cerberus forensis erat causidicus."

VIIII *

Fulgentius in expositione sermonum antiquorum 42 p. 122: ferculum dicitur missum carnium. Unde et Petronius Arbiter ait "postquam ferculum allatum est."

X *

Fulgentius ibidem 46 p. 123.12: valgia vero sunt labellorum obtortiones in subinatione factae. Sicut et Petronius ait "obtorto valgiter labello."

XI *

Fulgentius ibidem 52 p. 124: alucinari dicitur vana somniari, tractum ab alucitas, quos nos conopes dicimus. Sicut Petronius Arbiter ait "nam contubernalem alucitae molestabant."

XII *

Fulgentius ibidem 60 p. 126: manubies dicuntur ornamenta regum. Unde et Petronius Arbiter ait "tot regum manubies penes fugitivum repertae."

XIII *

Fulgentius ibidem 61 p. 126: aumatium dicitur locum secretum publicum sicut in theatris aut in circo. Unde

et Petronius Arbiter ait "in aumatium memet ipsum conieci."

XIIII

Isidorus originum 5:26.7: dolus est mentis calliditas ab eo quod deludat: aliud enim agit, aliud simulat. Petronius aliter existimat dicens "quid est, iudices, dolus? Nimirum ubi aliquid factum est quod legi dolet. Habetis dolum: accipite nunc malum."

XV

Glossarium S. Dionysii: petaurus genus ludi. Petronius "petauroque iubente modo superior." (Daniel)

XVI

Glossarium S. Dionysii: Petronius "satis constaret eos nisi inclinatos non solere transire cryptam Neapolitanam." (Daniel)

XVII *

In alio glossario:

Suppes suppumpis, hoc est supinis pedibus. Petron.
Tullia, media vel regia. Petronius. (Pithoeus)

XVIII *

Nicolaus Perottus Cornu copiae p. 200.26 editionis Aldinae anni 1513: Cosmus etiam excellens unguentarius fuit, a quo unguenta dicta sunt Cosmiana. Idem (*Iuv.* 8:86) "et Cosmi toto mergatur aheno." Petronius "affer nobis" inquit "alabastrum Cosmiani."

XVIIII

Terentianus Maurus de metris (*GL* 6:399):

Horatium videmus
versus tenoris huius

nusquam locasse iuges,
at Arbiter disertus
libris suis frequentat.
Agnoscere haec potestis,
cantare quae solemus:
"Memphitides puellae
sacris deum paratae.
Tinctus colore noctis
manu puer loquaci."

Marius Victorinus 3:17 (*GL* 6:138): huius tenoris ac formae quosdam versus poetas lyricos carminibus suis indidisse cognovimus, ut et apud Arbitrum invenimus, cuius exemplum

"Memphitides puellae
sacris deum paratae."
item "Tinctus colore noctis
Aegyptias choreas."

XX

Terentianus Maurus de metris (*GL* 6:409):

Nunc divisio quam loquemur edet
metrum, quo memorant Anacreonta
dulces composuisse cantilenas.
Hoc Petronius invenitur usus
Musis cum lyricum refert eundem
consonantia verba cantitasse,
et plures alii. Sed iste versus
quale compositus tome sit, edam.
"Iuverunt segetes meum laborem."
"Iuverunt" caput est *id* hexametri: . . .
quod restat "segetes meum laborem"
tale est ceu "triplici vides ut ortu
Triviae rotetur ignis

volucrique Phoebus axe
rapidum pererret orbem." 2865

XXI

Diomedes in arte (*GL* 1:518): et illud hinc est comma quod Arbiter fecit tale:

"Anus recocta vino
trementibus labellis."

XXII

Servius in artem Donati (*GL* 4:432, 22): item Quirites dicit numero tantum plurali. Sed legimus apud Horatium hunc Quiritem, ut sit nominativus hic Quiris. Item idem Horatius "quis te Quiritem?" cuius nominativus erit hic Quirites, ut dicit Petronius.
Pompeius in commento artis Donati (*GL* 5:167, 9): nemo dicit "hic Quirites" sed "hi Quirites," licet legerimus hoc. Legite in Petronio et invenietis de nominativo singulari hoc factum. Et ait Petronius "hic Quirites."

XXIII

Grammaticus de dubiis nominibus (*GL* 5:578, 23): fretum generis neutri et pluraliter freta, ut Petronius "freta Nereidum."

XXIIII*

Hieronymus in epistula ad Demetriadem 130:19 p. 995 Vallarsii: cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos et peregrini muris olentes pelliculas, de quibus illud Arbitri est

"non bene olet qui bene semper olet," (*Mart.* 2:12.4) quasi quasdam pestes et venena pudicitiae virgo devitet.

XXV *

Fulgentius mythologiarum 2:6 p. 45s. Helmii de Prometheo: quamvis Nicagorus . . . primum illum formasse idolum referat, et quod vulturi iecor praebeat, livoris quasi pingat imaginem. Unde et Petronius Arbiter ait

> "Qui vultur iecor intimum pererrat
> et pectus trahit intimasque fibras,
> non est quem lepidi vocant poetae,
> Sed cordis *mala,* livor atque luxus."

XXVI * *Anth. Lat.* 690 R

Sic contra rerum naturae munera nota
  corvus maturis frugibus ova refert.
Sic format lingua fetum cum protulit ursa,
  et piscis nullo iunctus amore parit.
Sic Phoebea chelys vinclo resoluta parentis
  Lucinae tepidis naribus ova fovet,
sic sine concubitu textis apis excita ceris
  fervet et audaci milite castra replet.
Non uno contenta valet natura tenore,
  sed permutatas gaudet habere vices.

XXVII * *Anth. Lat.* 466 R

Primus in orbe deos fecit timor, ardua caelo
fulmina cum caderent discussaque moenia flammis
atque ictus flagraret Athos, mox Phoebus ad ortus
lustrata devectus humo lunaeque senectus
et reparatus honos, hinc signa effusa per orbem
et permutatus disiunctis mensibus annus.
Profecit vitium iamque error iussit inanis
agricolas primos Cereri dare messis honores,
palmitibus plenis Bacchum vincire, Palemque

pastorum gaudere manu. Natat obrutus omnis
Neptunus demersus aqua, Pallasque tabernas
vindicat. Et voti reus et qui vendidit orbem
iam sibi quisque deos avido certamine fingit.

XXVIII * *Anth. Lat.* 476 R

Nam citius flammas mortales ore tenebunt
quam secreta tegant. Quicquid dimittis in aula
effluit et subitis rumoribus oppida pulsat.
Nec satis est vulgasse fidem: cumulatius exit
proditionis opus famamque onerare laborat.
Sic commissa verens avidus reserare minister
fodit humum regisque latentes prodidit aures;
concepit nam terra sonos calamique loquentes
invenere Midam, qualem narraverat index.

XXVIIII *Anth. Lat.* 650 R

Fallunt nos oculi, vagique sensus
oppressa ratione mentiuntur.
Nam turris prope quae quadrata surgit
detritis procul angulis rotatur.
Hyblaeum refugit satur liquorem,
et naris casiam frequenter odit.
Hoc illo magis aut minus placere
non posset nisi lite destinata
pugnarent dubio tenore sensus.

XXX *Anth. Lat.* 651 R

Somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris
non delubra deum nec ab aethere numina mittunt.
Sed sibi quisque facit. Nam cum prostrata sopore
urget membra quies et mens sine pondere ludit,
quicquid luce fuit, tenebris agit. Oppida bello
qui quatit et flammis miserandas eruit urbes,

tela videt versasque acies et funera regum
atque exundantes profuso sanguine campos.
Qui causas orare solent, legesque forumque
et pavidi cernunt inclusum chorte tribunal.
Condit avarus opes defossumque invenit aurum.
Venator saltus canibus quatit. Eripit undis
aut premit eversam periturus navita puppem.
Scribit amatori meretrix, dat adultera munus.
[Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat]
In noctis spatium miserorum vulnera durant.

XXXI * *Anth. Lat.* 691 R

Indica purpureo genuit me litore tellus,
candidus accenso qua redit orbe dies.
Hic ego divinos inter generatus honores
mutavi Latio barbara verba sono.
Iam dimitte tuos, Paean o Delphice, cygnos:
dignior haec vox est quae tua templa colat.

XXXII * *Anth. Lat.* 692 R

Naufragus eiecta nudus rate quaerit eodem
percussum telo, qui sua fata legat.
Grandine qui segetes et totum perdidit annum
in simili deflet tristia fata sinu.
Funera conciliant miseros, orbique parentes
coniungunt gemitus et facit hora pares.
Nos quoque confusis feriemus sidera verbis
et fama est socias fortius ire preces.

XXXIII * *Anth. Lat.* 218 R

Aurea mala mihi, dulcis mea Marcia, mittis,
mittis et hirsutae munera castaneae.
Omnia grata putem, sed si magis ipsa venires
ornares donum, pulchra puella, tuum.

Tu licet apportes stringentia mala palatum,
tristia mandenti est melleus ore sapor.
At si dissimulas, multum mihi cara, venire,
oscula cum pomis mitte: vorabo libens.

XXXIIII* *Anth. Lat.* 693 R

Si Phoebi soror es, mando tibi, Delia, causam,
scilicet ut fratri quae peto verba feras:
"Marmore Sicanio struxi tibi, Delphice, templum
et levibus calamis candida verba dedi.
Nunc si nos audis atque es divinus, Apollo,
dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat."

XXXV * *Anth. Lat.* 694 R

Omnia quae miseras possunt finire querellas,
in promptu voluit candidus esse deus.
Vile holus et duris haerentia more rubetis
pungentis stomachi composuere famem.
Flumine vicino stultus sitit, effugit euro
cum calidus tepido consonat igne rogus.
Lex armata sedet circum fera limina nuptae:
nil metuit licito fusa puella toro.
Quod satiare potest, dives natura ministrat:
quod docet infrenis gloria, fine caret.

XXXVI * *Anth. Lat.* 695 R

Militis in galea nidum fecere columbae:
apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus.

XXXVII * *Anth. Lat.* 696s R

Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret
et caeli summas advocet auriculas,
ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram
et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput,

exemptus populo Graia migrabit ab urbe
et non ieiuna sabbata lege premet.

Una est nobilitas argumentumque coloris
ingenui, timidas non habuisse manus.

XXXVIII* *Anth. Lat.* 698 R

Lecto compositus vix prima silentia noctis
carpebam et somno lumina victa dabam,
cum me saevus Amor prensum vulsumque capillis
excitat et lacerum pervigilare iubet.
"Tu famulus meus" inquit "ames cum mille puellas,
solus, io, solus, dure, iacere potes?"
Exsilio et pedibus nudis tunicaque soluta
omne iter impedio nullum iter expedio.
Nunc propero, nunc ire piget, rursumque redire
paenitet et pudor est stare via media.
Ecce tacent voces hominum strepitusque viarum
et volucrum cantus turbaque fida canum:
solus ego ex cunctis paveo somnumque torumque
et sequor imperium, magne Cupido, tuum.

XXXVIII* *Anth. Lat.* 699 R

Sit nox illa diu nobis dilecta, Nealce,
quae te prima meo pectore composuit.
Sit torus et lecti genius secretaque longa,
Quis tenera in nostrum veneris arbitrium.
Ergo age duremus, quamvis adoleverit aetas,
utamurque annis quos mora parva teret.
Fas et iura sinunt veteres extendere amores;
fac cito quod coeptum est, non cito desinere.

Note: The Fragments are printed here as they are found in Bücheler-Heraeus[6]. The Fragments marked with an asterisk are regarded by Heraeus as not the work of Petronius.

NOTES

[Agamemnon, a teacher of rhetoric, has apparently offered an opportunity of general discussion. Encolpius has grasped it to expound his own views.]

1. The Athenian democracy demanded personal participation of its citizens in the proceedings of courts and assemblies, and thus put a premium on effective public speaking. Schools of rhetoric came into existence to meet this need. In time there were developed two main styles of oratory, the Asiatic, aiming at luxuriance of phraseology and tending to become merely turgid and bombastic, and the Atticist, aiming at simple naturalness and verbal precision and tending to become merely barren and meagre. Later a Rhodian style tried to combine the good qualities of both. This system of rhetorical training was transferred to Rome, and in Cicero and Quintilian the main object of education was the training of the orator. Petronius' own sympathies were with the Atticists (cf. 2:7 and Introd. 14).

With the fall of the Republic oratory lost its vitality and gradually degenerated into the type of declamation seen in Juvenal and the younger Pliny, though it was studied and practiced with enthusiasm. Complaints about the decline of oratory are found in Persius, Quintilian and Tacitus, whose works offer interesting parallels to the remarks of Petronius.

1. **num**: the force of the question and the exact meaning of *alio genere* are lost since we do not have the beginning of Encolpius' declamation. **furiarum**: "madness." The pursuit of criminals and others by the Furies was a commonplace of tragedy; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 4:471. **declamatores**: professional rhetoricians, ready to discuss any subject or to argue either side of any question: cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2:3; Cic. *Fam.* 9:16.7. **haec vulnera**: cf. Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 9:4.1. **succisi poplites**: "hamstrung knees;" prisoners of war were so treated to prevent escape, and soldiers tried thus to disable their enemies: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9:762; Dict. Cret. 3:7; Ovid *Met.* 8:363; Apul. *Met.* 3:26.

2. **tolerabilia**: cf. 69:7. **ituris**: "to (those) on the way to eloquence:" cf. 118:5. **rerum tumore**: i.e., *abundantia.*

3. **piratas**: cf. Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 1:2.8, etc. **cum catenis**: either "in chains" or "with chains in hand," probably the latter, in view of the passage from Seneca just cited. **tyrannos**: cf. Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 9:4. **imperent**: characterizing, but *scribentes* gives the sentence the tone of indirect discourse. **responsa**: cf. Tac. *Dial.* 35; Quint.

2:10.5. **mellitos globulos**: "honey-sweet combinations;" the figure is carried on through the sentence.
sesamo: "sesame," frequently combined with *papaver* as a seasoning: cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 326. The whole sentence criticizes the unreality of such themes of declamation (the climax is reached in such works as the *Laudes fumi et pulveris* of Fronto, and those parodied in Lucian's *Muscae laudatio*), and the method of treatment, which drugs the audience.

2. 1. **olere**: proverbial: cf. Otto s.v.
2. **vestra**: addressing Agamemnon as a type of such teachers. **primi**: cf. Quint. 2:10.3. **levibus**: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 86. **ludibria**: lit. "absurdities," whereas oratory should treat serious themes with dignity, and not descend to the methods of vaudeville. **excitando**: the abl. of the gerund tended to replace the nom. of the pres. part.: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2:7. This accounts for the fact that certain Romance parts. are derived from the gerund stem, not the participial. An intermediate stage in the development is seen here.
corpus: "substance," which is neglected in favor of manner.
4. **umbraticus**: "in his study" and hence out of touch with the real world: cf. Juv. 7:105; Cic. *de or.* 1:157; Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 4: pref. 2, etc. **novemque**: the Alexandrians made "canons" of earlier writers whose works they deemed classical. The total number of lyric poets is usually given as nine, but Petronius counts ten: cf. Quint. 10:1.61.
6. **grandis**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 203, *grandis et ut ita dicam tragicus orator.*
7. **nuper . . . Athenas**: this suggests that Petronius was following some Greek source and failed to remove the evidence. In his time Asiatic oratory was not recently introduced into Athens or very recently into Rome, but cf. Cic. *de div.* 1:84, *ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper inventa est.* **sidere**: cf. 35 and notes.
8. **ad summam**: a frequent and relatively meaningless introductory phrase. **Hyperidis**: Greek orator of the Atticist school (4th century B.C.), ranked second to Demosthenes by Cicero (*Brut.* 36 and 67).
9. **pictura**: cf. 88. **tam magnae**: regular in Petronius for *tantae.* **compendiariam**: just what this short cut to painting was is disputed (cf. Supplementary Notes). Its effect was to make painting easier, and Encolpius is a firm believer in the efficacy of hard work.

3. Agamemnon takes Encolpius into his confidence.
1. **non publici saporis**: "of unusual quality;" for this meaning of *publici* cf. 137:5. **bonam mentem**: used of both physical and mental soundness, here the latter; for the former cf. 131:3.
2. **nimirum**: Agamemnon admits guilt but disclaims responsibility. It is unnecessary to add *nihil* or to replace *nimirum* by *minimum*. **Cicero**: *Cael.* 41.
3. **adulatores**: parasites like those common in comedy.
captant: from the parasite's search for an occasional free dinner, the

practice grew to a profession: cf. 116:7 and the frequent references to Regulus in the younger Pliny.

4. 1. **quid ergo est**: the phrase, with or without *est*, is common in Petronius and elsewhere in informal Latin. (The conversation of educated characters in Petronius is often semi-formal: cf. Introd. 41.) **parentes**: blamed in the same way by Orbilius (Suet. *de gram.* p. 107 R) and Tacitus (*Dial.* 29).

severa lege: again the necessity for hard work is emphasized.

2. **cruda studia**: "untrained students:" abstract for concrete.

3. **lectione . . . inrigarentur**: cf. 118:3 and 6 for similar figures. **praeceptis**: cf. 5 verse 2 below and Tac. *Dial.* 31.

atroci: "critical;" for a somewhat similar use of the word cf. Cic. *de or.* 2:200. Horace's *saepe stilum vertas* (*Ser.* 1:10.72) expresses the same demand for unrelenting self-criticism.

imitari: cf. Introd. 3, for the imitative school of literature.

5. **schedium**: "extemporaneous production," "sketch;" cf. Apul. *apol.* 1 (also in connection with Lucilius). **Lucilianae humilitatis**: "in Lucilius' modest style," perhaps with some reference to his use of iambics, the regular meter of dialogue in comedy. Lucilius (2nd century B.C.) was the creator of Latin satire in the technical sense. (For the literary doctrine of the preceding chapters, see Collignon, *Étude sur Pétrone*, pp. 51-108; for his Atticism, Introd. 14 and Sage, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn.* 46:47-57.)

5. For the mixture of prose and verse, see Introd. 10. The first eight verses are iambic trimeters, the remainder dactylic hexameters.

v. 2. **mores**: moral excellence is the first necessity of the orator: cf. Cato's definition of an orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.

v. 4. **alto . . . vultu**: transferred epithets and involved construction: Heseltine's "lofty frown of the tyrant's palace" is sufficiently exact.

v. 5. **captet**: cf. 3:3 and note.

v. 6. **perditis addictus**: "in company with the wicked."

v. 7. **plausor redemptus**: "hired applauder;" the Roman stage had its hired claque.

v. 8. **histrioniae addictus**: "slave to the stage;" i.e., so entranced by the drama that he can do nothing else. The first section of the poem then contains a positive direction (*prius . . . exacta*), followed by negative directions (*nec . . . addictus*). Simplicity of life—something like the modern "plain living and high thinking"—should be chosen, and the temptations and distractions of luxury and amusement avoided. The second section proceeds to outline the training of the orator.

v. 9. **arces**: i.e., at Athens.

v. 10. **tellus**: perhaps Tarentum, the one known Spartan colony: cf. Hor. *Od.* 3:5.56.

v. 11. **domus**: in southern Italy. **versibus**: the Greco-Roman educational system, which was in universal use (vv. 3-11), began with poetry, especially Homer. The translation of the Odyssey by Livius Andronicus gave Rome her first Latin schoolbook.

v. 12. **Maeonium**: "Homeric," since one tradition made Homer a native of Maeonia in Lydia (Hor. *Od.* 1:6.2).

v. 13. **Socratico**: philosophy follows poetry in the training of

the orator: cf. Serv. *ad Virg. Ecl.* 4:26 for a somewhat similar program.

v. 14. **liber**: cf. Tac. *Dial.* 39. **Demosthenis arma**: he is then ready for the study of rhetoric. For the phrase cf. Prop. 3:21.27.

v. 15. **Romana manus**: having laid the foundation by the study of Greek, the prospective orator turns at last to Latin.

v. 16. **exonerata . . . saporem**: "relieved" of Greek and "steeped" in Latin, his taste and style become truly Roman.

v. 17. **subducta foro**: he is not yet ready for public appearance, but being now *plenus litteris* he should practice composition, epic poetry, tragedy(?), and later oratory. As *fortuna sonet* and *bella* refer to epic, so *epulas* may refer to tragedy, since such banquets as those of Thyestes were common in tragedy: cf. Mart. 4:49.4.

v. 21. **flumine largo**: the figure is a commonplace.

v. 22. **Pierio**: "dear to the Muses." For the training prescribed for the orator cf. the discussions of Cicero and Quintilian and the actual training of Cicero. The parallelism is close.

[During this debate, Ascyltos escapes (6:1). Encolpius pursues and finally finds him in dubious company (7:5). A quarrel over the friendship of Giton follows (9:6-10), but their parting is postponed (10:7).]

12. The adventurers had in some way lost a tunic in the hem of which they had sewed their money. Ascyltos had accused Encolpius of stealing it himself. In compensation for their loss they had stolen a valuable cloak.

1. **male ambulantem**: "uncertain:" a variation upon the usual *vacillantem.*

3. **diligentius**: Petronius is fond of the comp. of the adv. used in the absolute sense, and especially of this word.

13. 4. **iure civili**: the law applicable to citizens. It provided methods of recovering lost or stolen property. **interdictum**: the praetor's order, hence here the court itself. The particular interdict in question is that *recuperandae possessionis causa:* cf. Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law,* p. 75.

14. 2. **faciunt**: "what good are the laws?" For the cynical sentiment cf. 137:9. **Cynica . . . solent**: the Cynic philosophers, who for professional purposes scorned luxury and criticized their neighbors, carried around in their knapsacks all their possessions, even their luxuries (the abl. is descr.). The hypocrisy of the Cynics was proverbial. **eques**: equestrian control of the juries had been established by C. Gracchus, abolished by Sulla, modified by Cotta and Caesar and practically restored by Augustus. It was therefore sufficiently complete to permit the use of *eques* as *iudex.*

5. **iniecit . . . manum**: *manus iniectio* was an ancient *legis actio* of the *ius civile.* While the procedure here is extra-judicial, Petronius has cleverly and aptly introduced technical legal terms (cf. *sequestri,* 15:4), more familiar to Romans than their analogues are to us.

6. **invidia**: "indignation;" a favorite word of Petronius, used in many similar but slightly different senses.

7. **cociones**: "tradesmen." **pannuciam**: "rag."

15. 2. **poenae nocturni**: the *tresviri capitales,* inferior magistrates with certain police powers at Rome, were popularly known as *tresviri nocturni* (Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 2^3.594). There may have been corre-

sponding magistrates in the smaller towns (Domaszewski, *Rh.M.* 47.159-160).

4. **sequestri**: "depositaries," to whom property was intrusted until a court had awarded it to its real owner. **tuberosissimae**: "full of lumps."

5. **constitutum**: "engagement (at court)."

8. **calumnantium**: "(our) accusers."

9. **nolo . . . parata**: the connection of the poem with the preceding is doubtful. It suggests that the victory was not so complete as it appeared (cf. *ut putabamus*, 15:8), though we hear no more about it.

[The comrades commit a trespass upon the secret celebration of the rites of Priapus, and are called upon by the priestess Quartilla to make atonement (17:9). This leads to a scene of riotous revelry (19-26). Exhausted by their merrymaking, the friends are ready for flight, but they are reminded of an engagement to dine as guests of Agamemnon and Menelaus at the house of Trimalchio, a freedman of unlimited wealth. His guests are mainly of his own station (26:8). After 26:5 was inserted the pretended discovery of Marchena (cf. Introd. 27).]

26. Encolpius and Ascyltos are reminded by Agamemnon that they are to dine at the house of Trimalchio. It was customary for invited guests to take their own friends with them to dinner, even if, as here, they were strangers to the host: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.22.

7. **id . . . cenae**: perhaps a marginal note to explain *tertius dies*, which has by a copyist's error found its way into the text.

liberae cenae: "a free meal" in the modern rather than in any technical sense. **tot vulneribus**: probably the experiences with Quartilla related in the preceding Chapters.

confossis: agrees with *nobis* understood, which is governed by *placebat*.

8. **unus**: virtually an indef. art., and the origin of the Romance indef. arts.

9. **vos**: unnecessary pronouns are common in informal Latin.

apud quem fiat: "at whose house (the feast) occurs."

Trimalchio: the name is variously explained: the first part is derived from τρίς "thrice;" the second possibly from μαλακός "effeminate," soft," possibly from a word meaning "unpleasant" and glossed by *malchio* (*CGL.* 2.126), or possibly from a Semitic root meaning "prince" and seen in such words as Melchisedek, Moloch.

10. **Gitona**: since Encolpius and Ascyltos had no real slave, Giton assumes that rôle to maintain their dignity. **usque hoc**: perhaps a marginal direction to a copyist ("go this far") which has crept into the text; if correct, it is to be taken with *in balnea; hoc* is the popular form of *huc*. **in balnea**: the bath regularly preceded dinner. It is not clear whether this is a private or a public establishment: cf. 72:3.

27. 1. **russea**: "red." **capillatos**: long-haired slaves were especially prized: cf. 29:3; 57:9. **prasina**: "green;" cf. 28:8.

2. **eam**: sc. *pilam*. Ancient ball games consisted mainly of throwing and catching. In this game only errors are scored and a ball once missed is not used again. Ball playing was a favorite form of exercise: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 1:5.48-49.

3. **matellam**: "basin." **lusu expellente**: "as the play sent them."

4. **Menelaus**: an assistant of Agamemnon. **ponitis**: pres. for fut.; cf. Introd. 42.C.2.b.

28. 3. **iatraliptae**: "masseurs." **propin**: translitterated infin. (προπῖν-προπιεῖν), used as a noun, modified by *suum* and subj. of *esse:* "that this was a toast to him."

4. **coccina**: "scarlet." Trimalchio is fond of striking color combinations: cf. 28:8; 67:4. **gausapa**: "bathrobe" of heavy cloth (also spelled *gausape*). **chiromaxio**: "bath-chair."

5. **cantavit**: cf. 31:4.

7. **dominico**: "the master's:" cf. 31:2.

8. **ostiarius**: "doorkeeper." **cerasino**: "cherry-colored." **pisum**: "peas." While Trimalchio is given to luxurious display, he also believes in keeping his slaves busy.

29. 1. **intrantibus**: "as you enter:" dat. of the person judging. **quadrata littera**: "in square capitals" such as are seen in formal inscriptions. **cave cave canem**: the usual form, found, e.g., with the familiar mosaic in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii, is *cave canem*. For the repetition cf. Introd. 42.E.6.a. As police protection improved, such artificial watch-dogs replaced real ones, though Trimalchio has both: cf. 72:7.

3. **venalicium**: "a slave sale." **ipse**: frequently associated with Trimalchio, as in 31:8; hence used for him without the name: cf. 29:8 and note and Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.23. **capillatus**: cf. 27:1. **caduceum**: regular attribute of Mercury (cf. sec. 5 below), with whom Trimalchio is closely associated (cf. 77:4) or even identified, as Augustus is in Horace (*Od.* 1:2.41ff.). **Minerva**: goddess of the crafts, but probably here of wisdom, and so an appropriate patroness for Trimalchio. **tensa**: a form of carriage usually reserved for divinities.

4. **ratiocinari**: "to keep books." **curiosus**: "skilful:" cf. 118:5 and Introd. 13.

5. **deficiente**: "at the end of." **levatum mento**: cf. 43:4 and Macaulay's lines "and our good Father Tiber bare bravely up his chin." **tribunal**: the official chair of a magistrate. Trimalchio was a *sevir Augustalis,* but there is no record of his having held any other office. **Mercurius**: patron god of business.

6. **pensa**: lit. "tasks," so "threads." The frieze thus represents Trimalchio's career from his arrival in Italy as a slave to his ultimate prosperity.

8. **aedicula**: "shrine." **pyxis**: "casket;" cf. 110:2. **barbam**: the clippings of the first shave were preserved or dedicated to a god: cf. 73:6; Juv. 3:186; Suet. *Nero* 12. **ipsius**: "the master's" as often: cf. 29:3 and note; *ipsimi*, 63:3, and the Pythagorean *ipse dixit.*

9. **atriensem**: "chief steward." **Laenatis**: unknown, but not important enough to be paired with Homer by any one but Trimalchio. **multaceam**: "at length."

30. 1. **triclinium**: "dining-room." The number of the guests and their arrangement at the tables, being unconventional, can not be made out: cf. 34:5. **procurator**: "bookkeeper."

fasces . . . securibus: as *sevir*, Trimalchio was allowed lictors with the fasces (cf. 65:3), but the axes within the rods were reserved for magistrates *cum imperio*. Trimalchio certainly had no right to them or to the fasces after the expiration of his year of office, but Cinnamus has flattered him, as also by the suggestion that he had won a naval victory. **embolum**: subj. of *finiebat*. This "ram" has in some way not clearly described been merged with the lower ends of the fasces in a decorative composition. For the use of ships' beaks for such purposes cf. the Column of Duilius and the Rostra in the Forum Romanum.

2. **seviro**: the *seviri Augustales* (cf. Introd. 2) were local aristocracies established by Augustus and charged particularly with the cult of the emperor. They may have had some magisterial functions as well. The establishment of this position was a recognition of the growing importance of such wealthy freedmen as Trimalchio, Hermeros, and Habinnas. As frequently in dedicatory inscriptions the verb is omitted.

3. **bilychnis**: "with two branches." **III . . . Ianuarias**: i.e., the 30th and 31st of December. These may have been standing engagements, or they may have been kept in place on the calendar even after the dates had passed. For the time of year when the banquet was held cf. the Supplementary Notes.

C. noster: Trimalchio and freedmen generally liked to be addressed by their praenomina: cf. 74:7; 75:2; Hor. *Ser.* 2:5.32.

foras: cf. Introd. 42.C.1.

4. **lunae**: Trimalchio was a student of astrology: cf. 35 and 39. **septem**: i.e., the sun, moon and the five known planets, excluding the earth, Uranus, and Neptune.

boni: lucky and unlucky days were marked by distinguishing signs: cf. Hor. *Od.* 1:6.10, etc.

5. **dextro pede**: to start off with the left foot or to stumble on the threshold was a bad omen: cf. Juv. 10:5.

7. **despoliatus**: "stripped (for a flogging)." **periclitaretur**: "was in jeopardy."

8. **subducta**: cf. 92:7; Catul. 33:1; Dig. 47:17 for similar thefts, which were very common and were especially dealt with by the law.

9. **precario**: a sort of "oratory," a room set apart for receiving petitions: cf. Pliny *Ep.* 5:4.18.

10. **sustulit vultum**: "looked up."

11. **natali meo**: "on my birthday." **cliens**: even Trimalchio's freedmen and slaves are important personages with clients of their own. **Tyria**: of the famous Tyrian dye and so of the best quality. The slave who lost the garments values them less highly: cf. 30:8. **lota**: "cleaned." The garments were not only of rich material but were comparatively new. That they have been washed even once is the justification in the steward's mind for pardoning the slave. Trimalchio's retainers have caught from him the habit of doing things in the grand manner. For the intercession for an offending slave cf. 49:6 and note.

quid ergo est: cf. Introd. 42.E.2. **dono**: formal rather than condescending.

31. 2. **dominicum**: cf. 28:7. **ministratoris**: "the waiter's."

3. **nivatam**: i.e., melted snow: cf. Suet. *Nero* 48; Mart. 12: 17.6; Juv. 5:50. **paronychia**: "toe-nails."

4. **obiter**: "continually." **cantabant**: cf. 28:5.

6. **excepit**: "received" (my request). **daret**: sc. *simul cantabat* (Bücheler).

7. **pantomimi chorum**: "a comic opera company."

8. **gustatio**: the "relishes" or first course. **locus**: the unusual seating arrangements at this dinner make the exact place uncertain. At a normal banquet the host's place was *summus in imo;* here Trimalchio takes what corresponds to *summus in summo*. See the Supplementary Notes.

9. **promulsidari**: "the tray" on which the *promulsis* or *gustatio* was served. **bisaccio**: "saddle-bags."

10. **tegebant**: "flanked." **pondus**: cf. 33:6; 59:6; 67:8. **ponticuli ferruminati**: i.e., bridge-like structures soldered to the plate. **glires**: "dormice," a favorite delicacy in Italy: cf. Pliny *N.H.* 8:223. **melle ac papavere**: cf. 1:3.

11. **craticulam**: "grill." **Syriaca pruna**: i.e., Damson plums (from Damascus). **Punici mali**: "pomegranate."

32. The arrival of Trimalchio.

2. **laticlaviam**: perhaps in imitation of the broad purple stripe worn on a senator's tunic, Trimalchio has his napkin so adorned. He has no right to this imperial color, but affects it often: cf. 38:5; 54:4: *tantum licentiae dabat gloria.* **fimbriis**: a mark of foppishness: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 45.

3. **anulum**: the ring was the most popular piece of jewelry worn by men. It was worn on the joint of the finger and while good taste prompted the wearing of only one, this limit was often exceeded. **subauratum**: "gilt," since Trimalchio, except in his capacity as *sevir,* had no right to wear a gold ring: cf. 71:9. He evades this regulation in two ways. **ferruminatum**: "set."

33. 1. **spina**: "toothpick." **absentivus**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b. **permittitis**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.b.

3. **omnium textorum dicta**: "all sorts of weavers' words" (Lowe). The reputation for mastery of this kind of language has passed successively to the inhabitant of Billingsgate and the French poilu. **gustantibus**: "still eating the *gustatio*." **repositorium**: "tray;" a second course in the *gustatio* was unusual.

4. **pavonina**: "peahens'."

5. **concepta**: "addled." **sorbilia**: "fit to be eaten" (lit. "sucked").

7. **in pullum coisse**: "turned into a chick."

8. **debet esse**: "is bound to be:" a virtual fut.: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.b. **persecutus putamen**: "piercing the shell." **piperato**: "seasoned."

34. 3. **lectarius**: "White-wing."

5. **aequum . . . amat**: apparently a proverb, but otherwise unknown. **cuique**: cf. note on 30:1. **putidissimi**: "rotten."

6. **pittacia**: "tags;" cf. 56:7. **Opimianum**: Opimius was consul in 121 B.C. (cf. Supplementary Notes), a year marked by a good vintage, so that all good wines were called Opimian. The chronology is hopeless.

7. **homuncio**: cf. Introd. 42.D.3. **tangomenas**: no satisfactory explanation of the word has been given, though the general significance—"Let's have a drink"—is clear. The phrase recurs in 73:6.

8. **larvam**: "skeleton."

9. **catenatio**: "joining," hence "joints."

10. Another example of Trimalchio's poetry is found in 55:3. Here two dactylic hexameters are followed by a pentameter, a variation upon the familiar elegiac couplet. **sic**: i.e., like the skeleton.

35. A third course in the *gustatio* follows: cf. Athen. 2:18 for its general character. Astrology was an important element in Roman culture, and especially in Petronius' time. Petronius himself uses astrological language in 2:7 and elsewhere, and we have seen that Trimalchio was a devotee of the science. His exactness in astrology is amazing when we think of his capacity for blundering in history, geography, and mythology. Ch. 39 should be read in connection with 35. For further details cf. the Supplementary Notes.

2. **materiae structor**: the chef who arranged the food for service. **cibum**: The signs of the zodiac are represented by appropriate articles of food. Many of them possess astrological aptness and involve verbal puns as well. Word-plays and displays of linguistic ingenuity were typical parts of table-talk from the time of Plato and Xenophon, and these developed into a fondness for riddles (cf. 58:8 and note). Our inability to solve some of the problems thus presented is due mainly to our own ignorance.

3. **cicer arietinum**: "ram'shead peas" (Heseltine) or "butter-beans" (Mitchell). The point of resemblance seems to be the likeness of the curling tendrils of the vegetable to the curling horns of the beast; cf. Nonnus *de re cib.* 1:6. **bubulae**: "beef." **testiculos ac rienes**: "lambs' fries and kidneys," which come in pairs. The Romans used *gemini, testiculi,* and *colei* (39:7) synonymously. **coronam**: "garland (of flowers)." The constellation Corona, circular in shape, was often associated with Cancer since they rose and set in alternation: cf. Cic. *Arat.* 570ff. **ficum**: early figs ripened at the time when the sun entered Leo; also, both the lion and the fig came from Africa. **steriliculam**: "sow's paunch." Sterility was characteristic of those born under Virgo.

4. **scriblita**: "tart." **pisciculum**: several species of marine fish are said to resemble the scorpion.

oclopetam: numerous attempts have been made to improve upon this word (the reading of H), but without success. All doubt as to its correctness has been removed by deVreese (pp. 82-83; cf. note on

39:11). The word denotes some kind of bird which attacks the eyes of dead animals, so a sharp-billed bird like the crow.

locustam: "lobster," with horns like the claws of Capricornus. The reasons for the choice of the other articles of food are obvious.

6. **clibano**: "biscuit-heater" or portable oven. While usually made of pottery, it is here of silver in keeping with Trimalchio's magnificence. **ipse**: Trimalchio, as usual when used alone. **Laserpiciario mimo**: i.e., a song from the mime (otherwise unknown) of the "Asafoetida-Seller." For the form cf. *centonarius,* 45:1, and the mime of Laberius of the same name. **extorsit**: "mangled," "murdered."

7. **tristiores . . . cibos**: they were disappointed at the culinary prospects. **ius cenae**: probably "the rule of the dinner:" i.e., a dinner is a place to dine. Others take *ius* as "sauce:" i.e., dining is the sauce of a dinner. If the reading *in* for *ius* is correct, it is probably an abbreviation for *initium*, indicating that the *cena* proper is about to be served. The first explanation is foolish enough to be preferred.

36. The real *cena* is revealed.

1. **repositorii**: the tray was double-decked. The removal of the upper part discloses the food underneath.

2. **altilia**: "fat fowls." **Pegasus**: the winged horse of Bellerophon.

3. **Marsyas**: acc. pl. Marsyas in the legend contended in music with Apollo and was defeated and flayed. The river Meander came from the dripping blood. His fate was a favorite subject for sculptors. **utriculis**: "skins." **euripo**: properly, the strait between Euboea and Attica, and hence, as here, any channel.

5. **methodio**: "trick" such as the concealment of the food. **carpe**: translation should be deferred until sec. 8 has been reached, after which it will be unnecessary.

6. **scissor**: "carver." **essedarium**: a gladiator driving a British chariot (*esseda*); cf. 45:7. **hydraule cantante**: "while an organist plays." The water-organ, from which the modern pipe-organ is ultimately derived, was invented by Ctesibius of Alexandria (ca. 250 B.C.) and refined by Nero (Suet. *Nero* 41).

7. **urbanitatem**: "joke." **eum**: Hermeros. **supra me**: lit. "above me," so "next to me."

8. **eodem verbo**: i.e., *carpe* is imv. of *carpo* and voc. of *Carpus*. Lowe's "Carver, carve 'er" reproduces the pun. Such devices were common in mimes and comedies.

37. Encolpius seeks information regarding his companions.

1. **exciperem**: "find out." **arcessere**: "hunt things to talk about," cf. 115:20.

2. **Fortunata appellatur**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.e.

3. **modo modo**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.a. **genius tuus**: virtually *tu*. The deification of the emperors emphasized the belief that every person had his divine counterpart or *genius*. This form of address is used only by freedmen.

4. **nec . . . quare**: "without rhyme or reason," a phrase equally al-

literative and equally ungrammatical. **in . . . abiit**: "she is exalted to the skies." The parallels usually cited fail to illustrate the meaning (best seen in the rest of the sentence), but do reveal the proverbial character of the expression. **topanta**: "all-in-all;" transliteration of the incorrect Greek *τὸ πάντα*.

5. **mero meridie**: "at high noon." The alliteration and the jingle account for the pleonasm. **credet**: such changes of subject without indication are common in careless speech.

6. **saplutus**: "rich;" transliteration of *ζάπλοῦτος*. **lupatria**: "vixen" (Lowe). The word is a hybrid, the Greek suffix *-τρια* being added to the Latin stem *lupa-*.

7. **tantum . . . vides**: the possession of money was the best recommendation to Hermeros, and this phrase, however poorly connected grammatically with the context, is an appropriate compliment. **pica pulvinaris**: lit. "magpie on a pillow," hence a chatterer, and in combination with *malae linguae*, fair basis for an opinion that Trimalchio was henpecked. For a sample of Fortunata's attainments cf. 74:9. **quem . . . amat**: cf. Publ. Syr. 6.

8. **nummorum nummos**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.a.

9. **babae babae**: an exclamation of amazement and admiration: cf. Introd. 42.E.1. **decimam partem**: cf. 47:12.

10. **babaecalis**: "simpletons," though both derivation and meaning are doubtful. If related to *babae* above, irony has reversed its meaning. **in . . . folium**: "into a leaf of the rue," proverbial for small size: cf. 58:5; Mart. 11:13.15. Our phrases "knock into a cocked hat" and "knock into the middle of next week" are probably similar in origin and would be equally meaningless if we knew as little about the history of their development.

38. 1. **credrae**: "cedar" (popular form for *cedrae*). **lacte**: cf. Introd. 42.B.2.

2. **culavit**: "turned them into."

3. **mel Atticum**: an especially good variety. **meliusculae**: cf. Introd. 42.D.2.

4. **semen boletorum**: "mushroom spawn."

5. **culcitras**: for the form cf. *credrae*, 38:1; for the magnificence, cf. 32:2. **beatitudo**: equivalent in the freedman mind to "prosperity."

6. **sucossi**: lit. "juicy," hence "wealthy;" for the form cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b.

7. **in imo imus**: an inferior place which can not be located precisely on this occasion. The man referred to is C. Pompeius Diogenes (38:10). **octingenta**: double the property qualification of a knight. Its value (about $35,000) would be much higher now, though the exact ratio of purchasing power is unknown (6:1 in wheat about 1900, but less for manufactured goods then and for all commodities now). **de . . . crevit**: proverbial: cf. 43:1; 71:12; Otto s.v. *nihil*.

8. **Incuboni**: a god who watched over hidden treasure which he would disclose if his cap were stolen: a frequent figure in folklore.

9. **sub alapa**: the exact meaning, especially with *tamen*, is unknown. The ceremony of manumission involved the giving of a slap

(*alapa*) to the person being freed, so perhaps the meaning is "he has not forgotten his manumission (and the way—probably discreditable—he got the money to buy his freedom)," a meaning confirmed by the rest of the sentence. **non . . . male**: "he looks after his interests well:" cf. Introd. 42.E.6.f.

10. **proscripsit**: "advertised," used absolutely. **ex . . . Iullis**: July 1 was moving day in Rome: cf. Mart. 12:32.1. Diogenes wishes to advertise his prosperity as well as his apartment.

11. **libertino loco**: an inferior but indefinite place, occupied here by Julius Proculus, who may be relegated to it because of his misfortunes. **quam . . . habuit**: "how well off he was." **suum**: neut., agreeing with the phrase *sestertium decies*. **vidit**: "has seen." **vacillavit**: "got a bad jolt:" cf. 12:1 and note.

12. **liberos**: "unmortgaged." **qui . . . fecerunt**: "who did (well) for themselves," i.e., who swindled Proculus; cf. Introd. 42.C.2.c.

13. **sociorum . . . medio**: Hermeros mixes proverbs and therefore constructions; the meaning appears to be: If you and your friends are associated, and the pot boils poorly and things begin to go down hill, your friends disappear.

14. **negotiationem**: "business." **quod**: adv. acc., practically the same as *qualem*. **libitinarius**: undertaking was a disreputable occupation among genuine Romans (Sen. *de ben.* 6:38), but freedman standards were different.

15. **gausapatos**: cf. 28:4, which does not however explain the dressing of boars in blankets (their hides?). **opera pistoria**: "bakers' masterpieces." **fantasia . . . homo**: Heseltine's "fairy prince" comes close. For the comparison cf. Introd. 42.E.6.h.

16. **Iulius . . . supervacuarum**: such shrewdness in disaster wins almost as much praise as does wealth.

39. Trimalchio interprets the signs of the zodiac as they were shown in 35.

1. **publicatis**: "general."

2. **suave faciatis**: i.e., by your conversation. **pisces . . . oportet**: i.e., we should take advantage of our opportunities as the fish do. There may be also a hint that the fish they have eaten should have something to swim in.

3. **theca**: "cover:" cf. 36:1. **sic . . . Ulixes**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:44. **philologiam**: "culture."

4. **patrono**: Trimalchio's former owner. **hominem . . . homines**: cf. 57:5; 74:13 (referring to Fortunata!); Introd. 42.E.5. **fericulus**: cf. Introd. 42.A.3 and 42.B.1.a. **praxim**: "proof."

5. **caelus**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a. **figuras**: the twelve signs of the zodiac. Reference to other astrological works often helps to explain the highly elaborate puns. **expudoratam**: "shameless:" cf. Manil. 4:508. **cornum**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a. **scholastici**: "rhetoricians." **arietilli**: an almost certain emendation of

arieti illi of the MS., but of uncertain meaning. The pun is reproduced in Peck's "*ram*bunctious people," Mitchell's "*ram*pagious fellows" and deVreese's "*Schafköpfe von Schülern,*" which suggests the most plausible explanation, that *arietilli* are the pupils of *scholastici*. The transformation of a lawyer into a ram by witchcraft (Apul. *Met.* 1:8) suggests that popular belief found a resemblance between lawyers and rams.

6. **mathematici**: "astrologer." **taurulus**: perhaps dimin. because Taurus was a sign of hard agricultural labor, for which a young steer was best fitted. The bull's head was turned in the opposite direction from the other signs (*aversum taurum:* Manil. 1:264), suggesting the stubbornness of the animal. **calcitrosi**: "bull-headed fellows," "kickers:" cf. preceding note; for the form cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b. Columella (2:2.26) applies the word to the bull. **bubulci**: "ploughmen:" cf. Colum. 2:3.25. **qui . . . pascunt**: i.e., men who look out for themselves. Dogged persistence in hard manual occupations characterizes the children of the Bull (Manil. 4:523f.).

7. **bigae**: "teams (of horses);" horses and oxen go in pairs. **colei**: "debauchees:" cf. 35:3 and note. **qui . . . linunt**: lit. "who smear both sides of the wall:" cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7:29.2. The politician's phrase "to be on the fence" seems the closest parallel (so Lowe).

8. **ideo . . . quadrat**: i.e., like the crab, I have more than the normal number of legs and am at home on land and sea (the crab is not strictly amphibious, but Trimalchio thinks it is). **hoc et illoc**: cf. 26:10 and note. (Cancer was a sign of trade and business: cf. Manil. 4:166ff.). **iam dudum**: Trimalchio had served such courses before. **nihil**: i.e., no food; for the garland cf. 35:3 and note. **genesim**: "horoscope."

9. **cataphagae**: "gluttons" with the added idea of "squanderers:" cf. Manil. 4:178f. **imperiosi**: Leo was regarded as the foremost of all the signs since the sun was in it at the summer solstice. It was also in one tradition (Manil. 4:769ff.) the sign under which Rome was founded, and under it Augustus was born. **fugitivi et compediti**: fugitive slaves, before and after capture, play a large rôle in astrology. The position of the Virgo, near the autumn equinox (*nodus* "turning point") may have led to a pun on *nodus* "knot," "bond." In some representations of the zodiac the Virgin's foot is fettered.

10. **laniones**: "butchers," who like the *unguentarii* sell by weight. Libra presided over weights and measures: cf. Manil. 4:205. **unguentarii**: cf. Firm. Mat. 8:25.9. **expendunt**: the emendation (for *expediunt,* which is implied in *expendunt*) may be defended by Manil. 4:472, 477, and by the "balance" itself.

11. **venenarii**: "poisoners;" Scorpio was represented as having slain Orion with its sting (Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 1:535, etc.). Persons born under Scorpio were poisoners (Firm. Mat. 8:26.14) or murderers or themselves died violent deaths (Firm. Mat. 8:26.11). **strabones**: usually explained as referring to the

cross-eyed look of the archer who turns one eye toward the target, the other toward the arrow. Those born under this sign were destined to lose one eye or to suffer from ocular diseases (Firm. Mat. 8:27.1; 4). Thieves, who are conspicuous in astrology (Firm. Mat. 8:14.3; 8:27.6), were born under Sagittarius.

12. **aerumnosi**: Capricornus presided over work with fire and metals and therefore over hardworking and unfortunate people. **prae sua mala**: "as a result of their woes:" for the const. cf. 46:1. The acc. often replaced the abl. in informal Latin. **cornua**: cf. *cornum,* 39:5. The buffoon in Hor. *Ser.* 1:5.56ff., who suffers from a *morbus Campanus,* has a horn on his forehead, but a connection with this passage is uncertain.

copones: "innkeepers," who like comic milkmen to-day use too much water: cf. Mart. 3:57.1-2. **cucurbitae**: "pumpkin-heads," containing much water and little else. There was also a surgical instrument known as *cucurbita,* used for bleeding, for which operation Aquarius offered a favorable time (*Cat. Cod. Astr. Gr.* 1:216), so that there is an extra pun in the word.

obsonatores: "caterers (in fish)," fish being a popular food.

rhetores: Peck translates "rhetoricians, who cater to our ears." There is no evidence that the ancients regarded fish as good brain-food, but there is much similarity between the vocabularies of rhetoric and of cooking (cf. 1:3; 2:1, etc.), and there is a direct comparison with fishing in 3:3. The birth of orators was presided over by Pisces (Firm. Mat. 8:30.3; 7).

15. **corrotundata**: "rounded;" cf. 76:8.

40. 1. **sophos**: Greek words were used in such exclamations as are "encore" and "bravo" with us. **Hipparchum Aratumque**: Greek astronomers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. respectively. As usual, astronomy and astrology are not distinguished. **subsessores**: "hunters lying in wait" (*sub-*).

2. **canes Laconici**: favored for hunting: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 6:5; Virg. *Geor.* 3:405, etc. This is the second course of the *cena.*

3. **pilleatus**: "wearing a freedman's cap:" the *pilleus* was a conical cap worn by slaves at manumission; for its significance here cf. 41:4; for another use cf. 38:8. **caryotis**: fresh dates from Syria. **Thebaicis**: dried dates from Thebes in Egypt.

4. **coptoplacentis**: "pastry-cake." **apophoreti**: "favors" (lit. "things to be carried away"); the usual word is apophoreta (ἀποφόρετα), as in 60:4, where another distribution occurs, and in Martial's fourteenth book, but it is here an adj. agreeing with *hi* (*porcelli*).

5. **cruralibus**: from *crus.* **alicula**: "short cape" worn by hunters. **polymita**: lit. "of many threads," usually used of a kind of damask. **turdi**: English commentators notice the repetition of this trick at a Vanderbilt wedding and an improvement introduced by the former Mrs. Harry K. Thaw. They suggest also a resemblance between "Roman and American millionaire humor."

7. **lotam**: "fine:" cf. 65:10.

41. 1. **privatum secessum**: "corner to myself."
2. **bacalusias**: "nonsense." **duravi**: "made bold." **interpretem**: Hermeros.
3. **servus tuus**: "your humble servant." **summa cena**: the principal course of the dinner the day before had "claimed" the boar as its property, but the guests had not eaten it. For the technical legal terms cf. 13:4 and note. **dimissus est**: "was set free" (cf. 66:7) and so returns to-day *tamquam libertus.*
6. **Bromium . . . Euhiumque**: three names for Bacchus, presenting three slightly different aspects of his character. **confessus**: "imitating."
7. **Dionyse**: the complicated puns are not to be reproduced in English. The slave's name is Dionysus (i.e., Bacchus). Another name for Bacchus is Liber. But *liber* means "free." Trimalchio may have said *"Dionyse, Liber esto,"* but the slave interprets it as *"Dionyse, liber esto."* Trimalchio is pleased with the smart repartee and adds "I have Liber as a father" or "I have a free father," i.e., I am *ingenuus,* not *libertus.* For a similar but less protracted pun on *liber* cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 576-577.
8. **perbasiamus**: "kiss enthusiastically."
9. **lasanum**: "lavatory."
10. **Dama**: a guest, known only from this brief speech, which is notable for the large number of variations from classical usage which it contains. **pataracina**: "larger glass:" cf. 65:8; Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.35. **versas**: cf. Introd. 42.D.1.
11. **mundum**: "genuine." **balneus**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a. **calfecit**: cf. *calefacti,* 28:1 and Introd. 42.A.2. **vestiarius**: "clothier;" the idea is the same as in the old-fashioned "nightcap."
12. **staminatas**: "stiff drinks," probably of unmixed wine. **matus**: "stupid" from the liquor. Perhaps the last sentences account for the brevity of Dama's remarks, his grammatical errors and his speedy disappearance from the scene.

42. Conversation becomes more general.
1. **excepit**: "took up (the conversation)."
2. **baliscus**: "bath-man." **fullo**: the fuller cleaned clothing, often with sad results, since they had no soap until the 1st century A.D. **pultarium**: "bowl," usually for cereal rather than wine. **frigori . . . dico**: "I tell the cold to go hang." **lavare**: cf. Introd. 42.B.3.a. **fui . . . funus**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1.
3. **animam ebulliit**: "gave up the ghost;" cf. 62:10; Sen. *Apoc.* 4:2.
4. **heu est heu**: "woe is woe." **virtutem**: "value."
5. **abstinax**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b. **ad plures**: "(to join) the great majority." **fatus**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a. and 71:1.
6. **vitali lecto**: "funeral couch:" cf. *vitalia,* 77:7. **maligne**: "sparingly." **accepisset**: "treated." **mulier . . . mulier**: "woman in her capacity as woman," i.e., all women: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.e. **mil-**

vinum genus: "a lot of birds of prey." Trimalchio addresses Fortunata as *milva* in 75:6. **neminem**: subj. of *facere;* for the double neg. cf. Introd. 42.E.6.d. **aeque . . . conicias**: "you might just as well throw (your kind act) down the cistern."

43. 1. **vivorum meminerimus**: cf. 75:8; Cic. *de fin.* 5:13. **sibi**: a doubtful use of the refl, but clear. **ab . . . tollere**: a variation from the usual expression: cf. 38:7 and note. **stercore**: "gutter." **crevit . . . crevit**: "he grew—what growing he did;" cf. 42:6 and note.

2. **solida**: "clear." The use of *solidum* as a financial term accounts for Ital. *soldo* and Fren. *sou.* **in nummis**: "in cash."

3. **linguam caninam**: a bit of popular philosophy not otherwise known. The reference may be to the Cynic's proverbial love for truth (the Cynic was represented by the dog from which he derived his name). In Plaut. *Men.* 714ff. Hecuba is called a dog because she said harsh (and probably truthful) things to everyone. **buccae**: "cheek." **discordia**: "quarrelsomeness personified."

4. **amicus amico**: cf. 44:7. **malam . . . pilavit**: "he plucked an unlucky bird," probably an owl or a woodpecker; for *pilavit* cf. 62:12; for the proverb cf. Otto s.v. *parra.* **recorrexit costas**: "put the fat back on his ribs again:" cf. Introd. 42.D.1. **quantum**: the informal Latin used the acc. freely even where classical Latin would have demanded another case: cf. Ital. *quanto.* **involavit**: "got."

5. **ille**: Phileros uses his pronouns with supreme indifference to clearness. He uses *ille habet* and *illum reliquisse* of Chrysanthus; *illius costas, illius mentum, illi relictum* of the brother. From sec. 5 to the end he uses *ille* five times with apparent reference to Chrysanthus (the uncomplimentary term "stips" is hardly harmonious with his characterization of either brother). **terrae filio**: "nobody:" cf. Cic. *Att.* 1:13.4. **elegavit**: "willed away." **longe . . . fugit**: proverbial, used by Varro as the title of a Satura Menippea. **oracularios**: "prophesying" or "preyed on by fortune tellers and other tricksters."

6. **homo negotians**: "business man." **quod**: the lacuna after *vixit* makes the sense incomplete; perhaps *habuit* should be supplied. **frunitus est**: old and popular lengthened form of *fruor*: cf. 44:16; 75:3. **cui destinatum**: the text and sense here are also uncertain: probably, that man is happy to whom a thing is given, not the man for whom it is intended.

7. **fortunae filius**: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:6.49. **plumbum . . . fiebat**: with reference to the story of Midas. **quadrata currunt**: proverbial for impossibilities that happen. **corneolus**: "hard (as horn):" cf. Catul. 23:12.

8. **olim oliorum**: *oliorum* is an apparent gen.: cf. *nummorum nummos,* 37:8 and note. Translate "for years" or "years ago," though neither is as strong as the Latin. **salax**: "amorous."

puellarius: "a girl-lover."

omnis . . . homo: "altogether a man after Minerva's own heart." Minerva, as the goddess of the efficient cultivation of all arts, might be a suitable patroness for Chrysanthus; as the virgin goddess, less so.

hoc: i.e., this pleasure.

44. 1. **quid . . . mordet**: "how much high prices hurt us." The indic. ind. quest. was a const. of early and popular Latin.

quomodo . . . perseverat: cf. Introd. 42.E.1.

annum . . . fuit: "for a year it's been I'm hungry.' "

3. **aediles**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1. The aediles were local magistrates, part of whose duty it was to secure adequate supplies of grain.

serva . . . te: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.e.

populus minutus: "the poor people." **maxillae**: synecdoche for "fellows;" *isti* is in logical but not grammatical agreement. **Saturnalia**: "holiday," from the great festival in December.

4. **leones**: "fine magistrates." **ex Asia**: cf. 75:10.

5. **si . . . esset**: "if the flour in the bread was inferior in quality," but the text is corrupt. **larvas istos**: "those rascals:" the agreement again is logical. **percolopabant**: cf. *colaphis*, 34:2; the omission of the aspirate was characteristic of popular Latin. **esset**: i.e., "seemed to be."

6. **piper . . . homo**: cf. 43:3 and note and Introd. 42.E.6.h.

7. **micare**: "to play mora:" the darkness would encourage cheating, but Safinius was too honest to use such opportunities: cf. Cic. *de off.* 3:97; Otto s.v. *micare*.

8. **pilabat**: "dressed down" (lit. "plucked"). **schemas**: "figures:" cf. Introd. 42.B.1.c.

9. **nec . . . exspuit**: perhaps imaginary characteristics of Asiatic oratory (cf. introductory note to 1), perhaps real characteristics of Asiatics.

10. **pro luto**: "cheap as dirt."

11. **bublum**: "bull's eye;" cf. Introd. 42.A.2.

12. **coda vituli**: "a calf's tail:" *o* often replaced *au* in informal Latin and the Romance forms are derived from the popular forms: cf. Ital. *oro* from *aurum*.

13. **trium cauniarum**: "worthless" (lit. "worth three figs"): cf. Introd. 42.E.6.d. **alter**: for the regular *alius*.

14. **coleos**: "spunk." **foras**: cf. 28:7 and note.

15. **casulas**: cf. Introd. 42.D.3.

16. **meos**: Ganymedes uses the popular const. of acc. instead of abl. with this verb. **diibus**: for *düs*: cf. Introd. 42.B.2.

18. **stolatae**: the stola was the distinctive dress of the Roman matron. **in clivum**: "up the hill," as in Rome up the Clivus Capitolinus. Roman names and customs were imitated everywhere in the Empire. **urceatim**: "in bucketsful." **plovebat**: popular form for *pluebat*.

lanatos: lit. "shod in wool," probably proverbial but inexactly used. Porphyrio (on Hor. *Od.* 3:2.31) explains the slow vengeance of the

gods as due to the fact "quod dicitur deos pedes lanatos habere." Ganymedes knows the phrase and likes its sound even though he does not know its precise significance.

45. 1. **centonarius**: "rag-dealer:" on the form cf. 35:6 and note. They were respectable members of society. **modo . . . perdiderat**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.e.

2. **cras**: cf. Otto s.v. **truditur**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.g.

3. **non . . . haberet**: i.e., this country is all right: the men are at fault. **laborat**: the financial difficulties of the municipalities were, at least later, considerable, as may be seen from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan. **delicati**: "too 'finicky' in our tastes:" cf. Plaut. *Men.* 119 for a "spoiled" wife.

4. **coctos**: "already cooked," as if nature provided everything here. **habituri sumus**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.b. **excellente**: cf. Introd. 42.B.2. **terduo**: popular form for *triduo*. **lanisticia**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b; gladiators were usually slaves, so that freedmen compelled to fight might put on a better show.

5. **quid utique**: "something (real) at any rate." **mixcix**: "no half-way measures about him" (from *misceo*).

6. **carnarium**: usually "meat-rack," as in 95:8, but here "butchery." **amphitheater**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a. **male**: frequently used with words like *decessit* as an expression of sorrow: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 751. This seems better than to take it as "unfortunately." **ut . . . impendat**: subst. res. after *sentiet*: "his property won't feel his spending."

7. **Manios**: the praenomen Manius seems to have been applied especially to country people: there was a proverb "multi Manii Ariciae," and Varro wrote a satire entitled "Manius." American slang some years ago used "Rube" similarly. **essedariam**: cf. 36:6. **delectaretur**: "entertaining:" cf. Introd. 42.B.3.b, but perhaps the meaning is rather "enjoying himself with" (that this would require the abl. in formal Latin is not a final objection). **zelotypos**: "jealous husbands." Echion means that popular sympathies will be divided.

8. **sestertiarius**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.d. **traducere**: "to give himself away," "to slander himself:" cf. 14:2.v.3. **coactus est**: i.e., the blame belongs to Glyco's wife. **matella**: "hussy." **sed . . . caedit**: proverbial: if he can't beat the ass he beats the saddle as a consolation.

9. **filicem**: lit. "fern," here "offspring," with a hint of the worthlessness natural to Hermogenes' family (Hermogenes is the lady's father). **ille . . . resecare**: commonplace of folklore for extreme sharpness: cf. Otto s.v. *milvus*. **colubra . . . parit**: proverbial, the reverse of our "like begets like:" cf. Otto s.v. *colubra*. **dedit suas**: sc. *poenas*. The explanation comes in the rest of the sentence. **stigmam**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.c. **sed . . . peccat**: a man's misdeeds are his own affair, so Echion changes the subject.

10. **subolfacio**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.a; 42.E.6.g.

Mammaea: otherwise unknown, and no occurrence of the name as a masc. is recorded elsewhere, so it may be a nickname.
binos denarios: cf. 71:9. **mihi et meis**: "for me and mine;" this seems easier and more natural than the usual interpretations (*meis* = guild-brothers or fellow-seviri).
Norbano: cf. 46:8; some local great man. **favorem**: "popularity." Mammaea and Norbanus were rival candidates for office. **plenis . . . vinciturum**: the figures are mixed; *vinciturum* (popular inflection of *vinco:* cf. Introd. 42.B.4) is "win (the election)."

11. **ille**: Norbanus. Echion is almost as inexact as Ganymedes in his use of pronouns. The use of *ille* was much extended in informal Latin. It practically drove out the other pronouns in the later period, and was so generally used that the Romance def. arts. are derived from it. **sestertiarios**: "two-for-a-cent:" cf. sec. 8. **sufflasses**: "blew at them:" cf. Plaut. *M.G.* 17. **bestiarios**: less skilful than real gladiators. **de lucerna**: perhaps "from a lampshade:" i.e., they were so weak that they might have been mere pictures of gladiators, and were no more dangerous than roosters. **burdubasta**: "clodhopper." **loripes**: cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 510. **tertiarius**: the gladiator who replaced the victim or challenged the winner in the first duel. **mortuus pro mortuo**: "one dead man for another:" i.e., he was no more of a fighter than the corpse he replaced. **nervia praecisa**: cf. 1:1 and note; *nervia* is colloquial for *nervos*.

12. **flaturae**: "spirit." **Thraex**: who fought with small shield and dagger. **ad dictata**: "according to order." Coaches prescribed the blows as they do the plays in modern sport. **secti**: "whipped" afterward for their poor exhibition. **adhibete**: "give it to them." **fugae merae**: cf. Introd. 42.E.3.

13. **inquit**: sc. *Norbanus;* cf. Introd. 39. **plodo**: colloquial for *plaudo*. **manus . . . lavat**: proverbial: cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 9:6 and Otto s.v. *manus*.

46. 1. **argutat**: cf. Introd. 42.B.3.a. **loquere . . . loquis**: cf. Introd. 42.B.3.a. **fasciae**: "stripe," "kind." **pauperorum**: cf. Introd. 42.B.2.

2. **litteras**: cf. 39:12; much learning has made Agamemnon mad. **te**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1. **mandu-cemus**: "chew on" or perhaps better "'chaw' on." The vulgar word replaced other words for "eat" in the spoken Latin and in the Romance languages: cf. Ital. *mangiare,* Fren. *manger.* **belle erit**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.c. **dispare**: "unequally," hence "unseasonably." **pallavit**: corrupt. The word is usually regarded as a causative from *pullo* "sprout," meaning that the weather has made things grow out of season. Possibly Echion may think of it as related to *palleo* "bleach;" in either case the crop has been poor: cf. the complaints of Ganymedes.

3. **cicaro**: "youngster." **quattuor partes**: "table of fours," though the Romans studied division rather than multi-

plication. **de tabula**: "from his book." **bono filo**: "with good stuff in him." **in . . . morbosus**: "crazy over birds:" cf. sec. 2.

4. **cardeles**: "goldfinches:" for *carduelis.* **dixi . . . comedit**: cf. 45:10 and note. **naenias**: "hobbies."

5. **Graeculis**: Greek preceded Latin in even so original an educational scheme as this: cf. 5 and notes. **calcem impingit**: "kicks (out):" i.e., he has dropped Greek and is studying Latin. This interpretation (cf. Otto s.v. *calx* and Harper s.v. *impingo*) seems easier than the usual "he makes a good beginning in Greek and is ready for Latin." Both the tense and the vivid style of Echion favor the former interpretation. **Latinas**: sc. *litteras.* **dem litteras**: i.e., asking that I give him something to read (Suess, 69f.). Echion is so well pleased with himself that he thinks he can direct and help his son's tutor.

6. **alter**: another tutor rather than another son. **plus docet**: cf. Mart. 9:68; 10:62. **dederis**: teachers' pay was proverbially small, but might be augmented by presents. Even the small fees charged were not always collectible in full.

7. **libra**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.b. **rubricata**: law books had the titles in red ink ("rubrics" in the Book of Common Prayer are not always exactly named). **quia . . . gustare**: cf. Laber. 36 R. **ad domusionem**: "for domestic purposes:" cf. 48:4. **inquinatus est**: the usual phrase is *imbutus est,* but Echion is fond of vigorous expressions. **resilierit**: "objects." **artificii**: a loose part. gen. with no subst., though an acc. is implied in *tonstreinum,* etc. Echion's style is characterized by Suess, 71, as "hyper-urbanitas." **tonstreinum**: old and perhaps affected spelling: "the barber's trade," but the following words are concrete, not abstract. **praeconem**: cf. Mart. 6:8. **certe**: "at the very least:" Echion ranks law high—*habet haec res panem*—but the others still higher.

8. **Phileronem**: probably not the guest of the same name. The inflection of Greek nouns was not uniform in popular speech. **didicisset**: "gone to school." **litterae . . . est**: used as the inscription over the entrance to the Chicago Public Library. For *thesaurum* cf. Introd. 42.B.1.b. **artificium . . . moritur**: there is no antithesis in Echion's peroration. By *litterae* he means throughout "book-learning," while *artificium* is "practical" training. For *moritur* cf. sec. 7 above. Echion's didactic system reminds us of that used by Horace's father.

47. Trimalchio returns and resumes his dictatorship. Since he is "speaking of operations," his conversation is at first not particularly appetizing, and the omission of the first half of the chapter is to be recommended.

1. **unguento**: goes with *lavit.*

2. **non respondit**: "has been out of order." **nec . . . inveniunt**: "are stumped." **malecorium**: "pomegranate rind." **taeda ex aceto**: "resin dis-

solved in vinegar," also used for toothache: cf. Pliny *N.H.* 24:41. Doctors used *ex* and *in* interchangeably in prescriptions.

4. **pudeatur**: cf. Introd. 42.B.3.b.

5. **Iovis**: nom.

6. **anathymiasis**: "vapors."

7. **crebris**: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.63.

8. **in . . . laborare**: "we were struggling half-way up the hill of pleasures:" proverbial: cf. Otto s.v. *clivus*. **mundatis**: "cleaned." **nomenclator**: the *nomenclator* was a slave who told his master the names of the people he met: here he introduces the dishes: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.25.

9. **petauristarios**: "acrobats." **portenta**: "tricks."

10. **fieri**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.c. **penthiacum**: "beef hash:" the name is derived from Pentheus, the Theban king who was torn to pieces by the women in their worship of Bacchus. **vitulos**: "(whole) calves."

12. **decuria**: "company:" slaves in a large household were organized for disciplinary purposes into *decuriae*. **empticius**: "purchased."

13. **ponas**: "serve." **viatorum**: "messengers."

48. 1. **mutabo**: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.16f.

2. **ad . . . facit**: "makes your mouth water." **confine**: "adjacent to." **Tarraciniensibus**: Terracina and Tarentum are about 200 miles apart!

3. **Siciliam**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1.

4. **controversiam**: cf. 1-5 and notes. **fastiditum**: used as dep. **tres**: as Sedgwick remarks, "an absurd reading, and so probably right." **si me amas**: "if you please:" a very common conversational phrase. **peristasim**: "topic."

5. **pauper et dives**: a common theme of declamation: cf. Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 2:1; 5:2. **pauper**: Trimalchio's experience includes no poor man. **urbane**: cf. *sophos*, 40:1.

6. **controversia**: "argument."

7. **porricino**: "pincers." Trimalchio gets his stories mixed.

8. Σίβυλλα, *τί θέλεις*: "Sibyl, what do you want?" *ἀποθανεῖν θέλω*: "I want to die."

49. The pig, ordered in 47, returns.

1. **efflaverat**: "finished his blowing." **repositorium**: the third course in the *cena*.

4. **exinteratus**: "cleaned."

6. **deprecari . . . rogabit**: cf. 30:9; 52:5. Petronius follows the conventional formula of intercession for an offender: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 140-143; Pliny *Ep.* 9:21.

7. **oblivisceretur**: potential.

10. **botulis**: "black puddings."

50. 1. **automatum**: "surprise." **Corinthia**: "of Corinthian bronze." This was a highly-valued ware in antiquity: cf. in general Pliny *N.H.* 34:5ff. Augustus had a famous collection (Suet. *Aug.* 70), but Trimalchio claims that his is the only genuine ware of the kind.

4. **aerarius**: "smith." **Corinthum**: i.e., to supply it.

5. **nesapium**: cf. Introd. 42.D.5. **stelio**: "rogue." **aera miscellanea**: we may doubt whether Trimalchio was thinking of grammatical rules of agreement, but his intention is clear.

7. **olunt**: apparently Corinthian bronze had a distinctive odor: cf. Mart. 9:59.11; the verb is usually 2nd conj. **frangerentur**: "wasn't breakable" (potential), as in 51:1.

51. Trimalchio relates the story of malleable glass. The same incident is told with greater or less detail by Pliny (*N.H.* 36:195), Dio Cassius (57:21) and Isidore (16:16.6).

2. **Caesarem**: for *ad Caesarem*. The emperor is Tiberius. **fecit . . . Caesari**: "he made as if to hand it to Caesar." **proiecit**: "dropped." **Caesar . . . expavit**: the meaning "Caesar was tremendously scared" is easier to see than the process by which it is extracted from the Latin.

3. **collisa**: "dented." **vasum**: cf. Introd. 42.B.2.

4. **martiolum**: "little hammer." **sinu**: "pocket."

5. **coleum**: "might." **condituram**: "process of manufacturing."

6. **decollari**: "to be benecked," as in older English.

52. 1. **in argento**: for the usual gen. **urnales**: i.e., holding an *urna*, or between three and four gallons. **plus minus**: "more or less." **iacent**: a new test of lifelikeness in art.

2. **Mummius**: if the word is correct, it is another blunder in fact, for Maecenas was not born for many years after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C. But perhaps neither the great Mummius nor the great Maecenas is involved in this transaction.

3. **Hermerotis**: not the guest. **Petraitis**: cf. 71:6. For a similar mixture cf. 29:9 and note. **meum intelligere**: the infin. is used as a subst. with a modifier.

4. **nugax**: "worthless:" cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b.

6. **aquam . . . intro**: apparently proverbial.

8. **ebrio proximus**: "almost drunk." **cordacem**: originally a religious dance, the cordax had lost its respectability. **ducit**: the time was slow if the dance was not.

9. **Syrum**: unknown. *μάδει περιμάδεια*: probably a refrain from some mime. The words have been connected with the names of Zeus and of Medea (the second word is intensive), but certainty is both impossible and unnecessary.

10. **nihil**: sc. *quam Trimalchio*. Latin prefers the neut. in such comparisons.

11. **suam**: a sort of echo of *meam* in sec. 8.

53. 1. **actuarius**: "secretary." **urbis acta**: Caesar in 59 B.C. began the publication of the proceedings of the senate and thus started the first newspaper. This developed into a gazette devoted mainly to the imperial household. Under the Empire copies were circulated throughout the provinces and were widely read: cf. Boissier, "The Roman Journal," in *Tacitus and Other Roman Studies*. Trimalchio's estate has its own journal. The scanty evidence indicates that

on the loftier plane the contents of the official gazette resembled those of Trimalchio's paper.

2. **VII**: the usual assumption that the banquet took place in the winter compels the conclusion that this edition covers the half-year beginning late in June and that only the first part of one day's record is read and the rest greatly abbreviated. The fullness of the account of this day is against this assumption: even Trimalchio would not have planned to subject his guests to a newspaper of such length—larger even than the most pretentious Sunday paper.

Sextiles: renamed for Augustus as July was for Caesar. Trimalchio uses the old name. **area**: "threshing floor." Friedländer says that this quantity of grain would have fed 10,000 adults for a year.

3. **crucem**: as Christians were crucified for refusing to worship the emperor's *genius*.

4. **collocari**: "invested."

5. **Pompeianis**: "at Pompeii."

7. **anno priore**: Trimalchio's financial transactions are so large that his bookkeepers are a year behind. His agents have purchased this property without his knowledge.

8. **in . . . vetuo**: Trimalchio wants to know about his purchases within six months or not at all, regardless of trial balances; *vetuo* is for *veto*.

9. **saltuariorum**: "forest-rangers," who disinherited Trimalchio but put into their wills codicils in his honor.

10. **circumitore**: "patrolman." **contubernio**: "company." **Baias**: Baiae was a notorious pleasure resort and hardly an unpleasant place of exile. **cubicularios**: "valets."

11. **tandem**: because expected in 47:9. **baro**: "athlete:" cf. 63:7. **odaria saltare**: "do a song and dance."

12. **acroamata**: "entertainments." **tricas meras**: "sheer nonsense." **Atellanam**: *fabulae Atellanae* (so called from their traditional origin in Atella in Campania) were rude native farces more popular in Italy than the Greek *comoediae* these actors are capable of presenting.

54. 1. **cum . . . est**: corrupt. Petronius would not have used both *Gaio* and *Trimalchionis* in different constructions in the same sentence. **Trimalchionis**: sc. *in cervices*. **hominem**: Trimalchio, as there is no sign that the performer was injured.

2. **scypho**: probably to reduce the swelling of the bruise: cf. 74:12.

3. **pessime erat**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.c. **periculo nostro**: "to our peril." **catastrophae**: "surprise" (lit. "stage trick"). With the whole episode cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:8.54ff.

55. The text in this chapter is much abbreviated and otherwise corrupt, though most of it is found in all MSS.

1. **in praecipiti**: "in danger of falling," perhaps with an allusion to the tumbler's fall.

2. **inscriptione**: "record." **distorta**: goes with *haec*.

3. **quod . . . puer**: on the analogy of Trimalchio's verses in 34:10, this epigram should consist of two hexameters followed by a pentameter, but no satisfactory supplements have been proposed. **exspectas**: cf. Otto s.v. *spes* for the numerous proverbial expressions of the fickleness of fortune. **ex transverso**: "crosswise."

4. **ab . . . epigrammate**: a discussion of poets and poetry follows. **summa**: "supremacy." **Mopsum Thracem**: the variations in the MSS. reveal the uncertainty of the poet's name. Mopsus the Thracian poet seems to be in the same category with Hannibal the taker of Troy (Friedländer).

5. **magister**: Agamemnon. **Publilium**: this conjecture (for *Publium* of the MSS.) seems necessary, but no one except Trimalchio would have tried to compare him with Cicero. **honestiorem**: "more respectable." Syrus was a writer and actor of mimes. There also survive his Sententiae, crisp and pithy sayings which deserve the characterization *honestiorem* and which were used in the schools.

6. The origin and character of these verses are debatable. There are several theories: (1) the verses are the composition of Petronius in the style of Syrus but with anachronisms; (2) they are the work of Syrus, from an unknown mime; (3) they represent what Petronius thinks a man like Trimalchio would expect of Syrus; (4) they are the work of some poet of Petronius' time which he for comic effect attributes to Syrus. The really genuine fragments of Syrus' mimes do not permit a decision. The meter is iambic trimeter. The topic is the growth of luxury and its effects: cf. 119.vv. 2off.

v. 1. **in rictu**: "in the jaw."

v. 2. **tuo palato**: "to sate your appetite." **clausus**: the peacock was kept shut up to become fatter for the table.

v. 3. **plumato . . . Babylonico**: "dressed in his feathery golden Babylonian tapestry:" the Babylonians were skilled in weaving gold into satin and feather-work: cf. Mart. 8:28.17; Juv. 10:38.

v. 4. **gallina**: the peafowl. **gallus spado**: the capon.

v. 6. **pietaticultrix**: because the stork nested around temples: cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 275. **gracilipes**: "slender legged." **crotalistria**: "maker of shrill sounds" (probably by the fluttering of its wings).

v. 7. **exul**: the bird migrated during the winter.

v. 8. **nequitiae**: modifies *caccabo*. On the eating of the stork, which had formerly been respected as later in Holland, cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:2.49f. and Porphyrio's notes.

v. 9. From luxury of the table he turns to luxury of adornment. **quo**: "wherefore." **margarita**: enormous prices were paid for pearls: cf. 67:10; Suet. *Iul.* 50, etc. **baca Indica**: cf. Hor. *Ser.* 2:3.239; Mart. 10:38.4.

v. 10. **pelagiis**: still referring to pearls.

v. 11. **tollat pedes**: "lie." **indomita**: "shameless," "unblushing:" for a more literal use cf. 74:14.

v. 12. **ad . . . rem**: cf. *quo*, vv. 9 and 13. **vitrum**: "crystal."

v. 13. **Carchedonios**: blazing carbuncles abounded near Carthage.

v. 14. **probitas**: jewels which should adorn virtue now minister to vice. **carbunculis**: rubies are said to have been worn by the ancients as preventatives against the ill effects of vice (Lowe).

v. 15. **ventum textilem**: "woven wind:" cf. *Coae vestes* in Hor. *Ser.* 1:2.101; also Sen. *ad Helv.* 16:4; Prop. 4:2.33; Mart. 8:68.7.

v. 16. **palam prostare**: "to display herself to public view." The poem abounds in vivid and vigorous phrases, worthy of Publilius or Petronius.

56. Trimalchio moralizes until some apophoreta are brought in.

2. **medicum . . . nummularium**: concrete for abstract. **intra . . . sua**: "inside them."

3. **anatinam**: "duck-broth," a domestic remedy freely used by Cato (Plut. *Cato Maior* 23:6). **qui . . . videt**: i.e., who detects counterfeits.

4. **laboriosissimae**: "hardest-working" and also "most abused." **gloriosos**: "resplendent."

5. **ovillam**: "mutton." **est**: from *edo*.

7. **de . . . deiciebat**: almost "was putting the philosophers out of business."

8. The puns are feebly imitated in the notes, though descriptions must sometimes be substituted. An editor's consolation is that the puns he extracts from the commentaries (if he refrains from inventing new ones) can not be worse than the originals. **argentum sceleratum**: the silver consists of the *acetabula* (silver vinegar-cruets); *sceleratum* resembles the sound of Greek σκελίς, a leg bone like *perna*. **cervical**: "something for the neck." **offla collaris**: "a piece of meat from the neck." **serisapia et contumelia**: the pun is mainly verbal: *serisapia* "late wisdom" is compared with "stale (*xero-*) bread soaked in new wine (*sapa*)," "stale" suggesting "late," while the popular pronunciation of *x* was similar to that of *s*. The sound of *contumelia* is vaguely reproduced in *contus cum malo* (the popular form seems to have been *melus*, not *malus*, as in Ionic Greek, and the Romance words come from *melus* rather than *malus*).

9. **porri . . . accepit**: Lowe's explanation seems best, that onions (*porri*) and a whip (*flagellum*) both bring tears to the eyes; *persica* would usually suggest peaches, but here "a (Persian) dagger." **passeres . . . Atticum**: *passeres* suggests in sound *uvam passam* ("dried grapes"); *muscarium* ("fly-trap") is balanced by "Attic honey" which also catches flies. **cenatoria . . . accepit**: "something for the table" ("meat") and "something for outdoors" ("wax tablets" for sending messages). **canalem . . . allata**: "something for a dog" is "a hare;" "something for the foot" is "a slipper." **muraena**: by a dubious equation *mus* + *rana* = *muraena*. **littera**: the second letter of the Greek alphabet (*beta*) is also the name of the vegetable (hence the bundle of beets).

57. Ascyltos derives so much amusement from the apophoreta that he is soundly reviled by Hermeros.

1. **licentiae**: for the loosely attached descr. gen. cf. 49:7. **berbex**: "mutton-head:" popular form for *vervex* (Grandgent *VL* 323).

2. **convivare**: act. for dep. **balatum duxissem**: "stopped his bleating," but such a meaning of *duco* is hard to explain and perhaps we should read with Friedländer *cluxissem* (popular form of *clausissem*).

3. **bellum pomum**: Hermeros and his type produce many epithets, but the fondness of the Romance languages for such words suggests that they were common in informal Latin. **larifuga**: "rascal." **nocturnus**: "fly-by-night." **qui . . . valet**: cf. our phrase "isn't worth his salt" and Introd. 42.E.6.d. **circumminxero**: "draw a ring around him," usually, as in 62:6, a device of magic, but here simply "get after him." **in . . . nascuntur**: probably an incorrectly used proverb: cf. 38:13 and note.

4. **numquid . . . lamna**: "did his father buy his precious child for gold:" i.e., did he make offerings and get as a result a more valuable son. **eques**: not confirmed except perhaps by *anulos buxeos* in 58:10. **regis filius**: Hermeros claims still nobler birth, but explains that he preferred being a Roman on any terms to being a tributary king.

5. **capite aperto**: "undisguised." **assem aerarium**: "a nickel." **constitutum**: sc. *diem:* "have no summons waiting for me."

6. **lamellulas**: "some coin." **ventres**: i.e., slaves. **contubernalem**: a slave could not contract a legal marriage, but a union with another slave (*contubernium*) was recognized among their own class. **tergeret**: i.e., insult her. **gratis**: the usual fees were remitted as a mark of honor.

7. **laboriosus**: "busy." **peduclum**: for *pediculum* "louse." **ricinum**: "tick." The English antithesis of mote and beam has a more pleasing sound.

8. **ridiclei**: cf. Introd. 42.A.2 and 3. **magister**: Agamemnon. **maior natus**: popular for *maior natu*. **lacticulosus**: "babe in arms." **nec . . . argutas**: proverbial: cf. Otto s.v. *mu, muttire*. **lorus**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.a.

9. **fidem**: "(financial) credit." **poposcit**: "duns." **annis**: the abl. of time within which practically supplanted the acc. of duration of time in informal Latin: so often in epitaphs. **basilica**: "town hall."

10. **maiesto et dignitosso**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b. Hermeros' fondness for big words and for the ending *-osus* (cf. *laboriosus, lacticulosus*) leads him to manufacturing new words. **qui . . . opponerent**: proverbial: cf. Otto s.v. *pes*.

11. **athla**: "contests" (ἆθλα). **in ingenuum**: popular for *ut ingenuus* (Suess, 35). **istoc**: for *istuc*. **hircus in ervilia**: "goat in a garden."

58. Giton has his turn.

1. **ad pedes**: in his rôle as slave.

2. **cepa cirrata**: "curly onion;" in 97:2 Giton is described as **crispus.** **io Saturnalia**: cf. Introd. 42.E.1. Great license was allowed slaves at this time, and Hermeros means that Giton is acting as if it were the Saturnalia. **vicesimam**: a 5 per cent tax on manumitted slaves: cf. 71:2. **quid faciat**: the lacuna makes the const. uncertain. **isti**: "your master" (Ascyltos).

3. **dono**: i.e., it is only out of consideration for Trimalchio that I refrain from making a row. **depraesentiarum**: on the analogy of *impraesentiarum* "on the spot," but with an idea of separation too. **euge**: ironical.

4. **matrem . . . facio**: "I don't care a cent for my own mother." **in publicum**: "outside:" cf. 49:4 and Introd. 42.C.1. **tuber**: "toadstool:" cf. 109:10. v. 4.

5. **in . . . folium**: cf. 37:10 and note. **parsero**: popular for *pepercero*. Early Latin showed great variety in perf. formations, and this same fluidity persisted in informal Latin throughout. **longe sit**: i.e., "it won't help you:" cf. Caes. *B.G.* 1:36; Virg. *Aen.* 12:52. **comula**: contemptuous dimin. **besalis**: "worth a *bes*," i.e., very little. Roman computations of fractions were largely in twelfths of an *as* (so in reckoning interest rates and in dividing estates). The *bes* was two thirds of an *as*, so to be an heir *ex besse* was to receive two thirds of an estate. Hence the word may mean two thirds of any unit, and here perhaps "eight-inch."

6. **venies sub dentem**: proverbial: cf. Laber. 28 R; Otto s.v. *dens*. **barbam auream**: like the gods who were so represented: cf. Suet. *Calig.* 52.

7. **Athana**: the Doric form of the word. **deurode fecit**: "brought you here:" *deurode* is transliterated δεῦρο δή **critica**: "higher criticism" as the word is used by persons who do not accept its findings. **alogias nenias**: "senseless foolishness:" it is impossible to tell which is adj. and which is noun, though *alogias* is used as a noun in Sen. *Apoc.* 7:1. **lapidarias litteras**: the *quadrata littera* of 29:1: he can not read script (cursive). **partes . . . nummum**: cf. 46:3; Hermeros knows his "hundreds" with respect to the *as*, the *pondus* and the *sestertius*, i.e., the whole system of measures, weights and coinage.

8. **si quid vis**: Hermeros turns again to Ascyltos. **sponsiunculam**: "a little bet." **defero lamnam**: "I put up my money." **qui . . . fit**: a popular riddle much injured in transmission and perhaps not understood by Petronius himself. The triple *qui de nobis* indicates that there are here three riddles, which may be merged into two trochaic verses by the substitution of *atque* for *et* and the omission of certain words which have come in with the expansion into prose:

qui de nobis? longe venio; late venio: solve me.
currit: loco non movetur; crescit atque minor fit.

The meaning of *qui* is "what part." The answers (Bücheler) are the

foot, which travels far and wide; the eye, which roams but stays in one place; the hair, which grows and is cut. (For further discussion of the place of riddles in popular Latin literature see the Supplementary Notes.)

9. **satagis**: "you fuss around." **mus in matella**: "mouse in a jar:" proverbial: cf. Otto s.v. *mus*.

10. **buxeos**: Hermeros pretends that Ascyltos' rings (of knighthood?: cf. 57:4 and note) are not genuine. **Occuponem**: "Profit:" sc. *habeam*.

11. **ferrum**: "my iron ring." **vulpis**: for *vulpes*.

12. **iuret**: i.e., hope for as good an end as mine. The grammar of the sentence is obscure. **toga perversa**: possibly "I with my toga reversed shall chase you" (magistrates when imposing the death penalty appeared *toga perversa:* Sen. *de ira* 1:16.5), possibly "I'll chase you with your toga in disorder."

13. **mufrius**: "chatterbox," though previously Hermeros has been complimentary toward Agamemnon. **didicimus**: "I've gone to school." **maiorem**: acc. instead of dat. after the virtual cpd.: cf. 53:3. **at . . . evadit**: i.e., modern schools are sheer nonsense: no one good for anything comes out of them.

14. **artificium**: "practical training," as in 46:8.

59. The debate is stopped by Trimalchio, who brings in a theatrical troupe.

1. **scordalias de medio**: "wrangling aside:" cf. *scordalo*, 95:7. **sanguen**: neut. for masc.

2. **semper . . . vincit**: proverbial: cf. Otto s.v. *vincere*. **capo**: "young rooster." **cocococo**: onomatopoetic like our "Cock-a-doodle-doo:" cf. Introd. 42.E.6.a. **cor**: "sense." **a primitiis**: "from the beginning." **Homeristas**: reciters of Homer: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 43.

3. **factio**: "company." **librum**: "libretto;" if this translation contained the story, which Trimalchio abstracts, it may have been a parody. More probably Trimalchio improvises or misunderstands it.

4. **Parentini**: "followers of Paris," like *Priamidae,* but modelled on *Tarentini.* (A brief course in mythology can be made out of the errors in this Chapter.)

6. **donaria**: "presentation-tray." **elixus**: "boiled." **galeatus**: for the sake of the following scene. **versa . . . supina**: sc. *manu:* "hacking this way and that" (Waters). This is the fourth course of the *cena.*

60. Another distribution of apophoreta follows.

1. **strophas**: "devices." **lacunaria**: "panels (in the ceiling)."

3. **alabastris**: "alabaster jars."

5. **pompam**: "display:" cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 769ff. **remissio**: "new turn of the fun."

6. **vexatione**: "pressure."

7. **periculum**: if right, the word means, with *sacrum,* "a test of our faith" (most editors read *fericulum,* which is too colloquial for

the speaker and the circumstances). **apparatu**: saffron was used in the worship of the gods: cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1:75. **mappas**: guests brought their own napkins and wrapped up in them their presents and articles of food: cf. 66:4. **Augusto**: the salute to the emperor usually ended the *cena* proper.

8. **Lares**: appropriately named Gain, Luck, Profit.

61. Niceros tells the story of the werwolf.

2. **suavis**: "good company."

3. **gaudimonio**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.a.

4. **itaque . . . sint**: "let joy be unconfined" is not too trite for Niceros. **scholasticos**: as the uneducated man today speaks of any one who can read and write as a "scholar."

5. **haec . . . dedit**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:790. The formal beginning and Trimalchio's use of *illud* in his request for the story show that Niceros' one accomplishment is the telling of this story, and it is not too fanciful to suggest that the whole tale, including the digressions, has been memorized. See the Supplementary Note on Realism.

6. **uxorem**: all the persons concerned were slaves: cf. 57:6 and note. **bacciballum**: "dumpling" is likewise onomatopoetic.

7. **corporaliter**: "physically." **benemoria**: "of a good disposition."

8. **fecit . . . habui**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.e. **fefellitus sum**: cf. 58:5 and note and Introd. 42.B.4.

9. **per . . . ocream**: "by hook or crook." **aginavi**: "schemed." **amici**: cf. Otto s.v. *amicus*.

62. 1. **dominus**: "my master." **Capuae**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1. The loc. was freely used in popular Latin to express all space relations: hence such Ital. forms as Rimini from Ariminum. **ad . . . expediendas**: "on some trifling business or other."

2. **hospitem**: cf. Introd. 42.C.1. Niceros uses several queer case consts.

3. **apoculamus**: "we trot off:" cf. 67:3.

4. **monumenta**: the tombs which lined the road. **ad . . . facere**: "to make for the tombstones:" cf. Introd. 42.C.2.c. **cantabundus**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.b.

5. **esse**: hist. inf.: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.d.

6. **circumminxit**: cf. 57:3 and note.

8. **lapidea**: to keep them safe in his absence; this is part of the magic.

9. **mata vita tau**: shouts of spectators at the games and so of uncertain significance.

10. **in larvam**: "like a ghost:" cf. 57:11 and note; this is the third different meaning of *larva* encountered in the Cena. **bifurcum**: "legs."

11. **omnia . . . misit**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.c.

12. **copo compilatus**: "swindled hotel-clerk" (pursuing a defaulting guest): cf. 95:3.

13. **versipellem**: "werwolf:" cf. Smith, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. N.S.* 2.1ff.; Baring-Gould, *Book of Werwolves*.

14. **exopinissent**: cf. Introd. 42.B.4. Belief in werwolves was com-

mon in antiquity. This is one of the best examples. The narrative has many elements of the modern short story, and some critics regard it as one of the earliest specimens of this literary form.

63. Trimalchio adds an experience of his own.

1. **salvo . . . sermone**: "with all respect to (the truth of) your story." **Niceronem**: Encolpius inflects more correctly in 61:1.

2. **asinus in tegulis**: proverbial for a marvel: cf. Otto s.v. *asinus*.

3. **vitam Chiam**: "a gay life:" the Chians were proverbially luxurious. **ipsimi**: cf. 29:8 and note; the comic superl. *ipsissimus* gave rise to the colloquial *ipsimus*, which when strengthened by the prefix *met-* produced such derivatives as Ital. *medesimo*, Old Fren. *medesme*, Fren. *même* (Fren. *moi-même* is from *me metipsum*). **delicatus**: usually *deliciae*. **caccitus**: "paragon:" exact meaning and derivation unknown, but meant as a compliment. **omnium numerum**: gen. pl.: "one in a thousand."

4. **strigae**: "witches" (classical *strix, -gis*).

5. **valde audaculum**: cf. Introd. 42.D.3. **qui valebat**: "how strong he was!"

6. **curiose**: "carefully" or "peculiarly" as a protection against evil. **salvum . . . tango**: touching himself on the spot where the witch was wounded might transfer the harm to himself: hence the prayer.

7. **manus**: cf. the "evil eye."

8. **manuciolum**: "bundle." **stramenticium**: Varro wrote a satire entitled "Aiax Stramenticius." **vavatonem**: "changeling."

9. **plussciae**: cf. Introd. 42.D.5.

10. **coloris . . . fuit**: "regained his natural color:" cf. sec. 7. **phreneticus**: "crazy."

64. 1. **suis**: "at home."

2. **plures . . . mutatum**: the effect of wine and ghost stories combined. **diverbia . . . melica**: dialogue and lyric parts of comedy respectively.

3. **heu . . . caricae**: "where are the 'figs' of yesteryear?" **dulcis**: nom. pl. **quadrigae . . . decucurrerunt**: "my race has been run." **tisicus**: for *phthisicus*: "consumptive."

4. **quid . . . tonstrinum**: "what of my skill in . . . ;" *saltare* is inf. used substantively. **tonstrinum**: "barber-shop close harmony:" he means rather an imitation. **Apelletem**: famous tragic actor of Caligula's time.

9. **Margaritamque**: Croesus' pet dog.

12. **bucca . . . hic**: from some game: *quot* apparently means "how many fingers."

65. Another course is served, making the transition to the *secunda mensa*.

1. **matteae**: "salads."

2. **ova . . . pilleata**: perhaps hardboiled with half the shell removed; the remainder would have about the shape of a *pilleus*. The boar in 40:3 wore a real cap. **exossatas**: "boned."

4. **praetorem**: the only town in this neighborhood which used the term "praetor" for its magistrates at this period was Cumae, but the term may not be used with strict literalness.

5. **lapidarius**: "stone-cutter" on a large scale.

videretur: characterizing.

7. **uxoris . . . manus**: an anticipation of the collegiate snake-dance. **praetorio loco**: "the place of honor."

8. **capaciorem**: cf. 41:10 and note. **acceptus esset**: "how he had been treated" at the party he had attended first.

10. **novemdiale**: a feast held nine days after a funeral.

mortuum: "on his death bed." Being now free, the dying man can make a will in favor of his former owner. **vicesimariis**: "collectors of the *vicesima:*" cf. 58:2 and note.

mantissam: "percentage:" the amount of the tax was based on the slave's value, and this one is wealthy.

11. **ossucula**: "bones."

66. 2. **savunculum**: "honeyed cheese cake." **gizeria**: "gizzards." **panem autopyrum**: "whole-wheat bread." **de suo sibi**: i.e., of the whole flour without any mixture: lit. "of its very own;" *sibi* is intensive with *suo*.

3. **tetigi**: i.e., I ate a lot.

4. **calvae**: "filberts." **vernulae**: "pet slave."

5. **bene**: i.e., at the right time; the next sentence shows that it was an unpleasant memory for Scintilla.

7. **in summo**: "finally." **caseum . . . sapa**: "cheese softened with wine:" cf. 56:8 and note. **cordae**: "tripe." **hepatia**: "livers." **rapam**: "turnips." **senape**: "mustard." **catillum concacatum**: "vile mess." **pax Palamedes**: "stop, Palamedes." The alliteration seems the only reason for the choice of this particular name. **oxycomina**: "pickled olives." **improbe**: "shamelessly." **ternos pugnos**: "three fistsful apiece." **pernae . . . dedimus**: cf. the fate of the *aper pilleatus*.

67. Habinnas demands that Fortunata come to the table. Students of style may profitably examine the method by which Petronius builds up the picture of Fortunata: cf. the Supplementary Notes (Realism).

4. **phaecasiae**: "slippers:" cf. 82:3.

5. **est te videre**: a conventional phrase of greeting.

6. **reticulum**: "hair-net." **obrussa**: "standard (gold):" cf. Suet. *Nero* 44.

7. **barcalae**: "fools." **ex . . . factam**: merchants offered to their patron Mercury one-thousandth of the month's profits. We do not know how long it took Trimalchio to amass profits amounting to ten thousand pounds of gold. It seems unlikely that he would have admitted that he was robbing Mercury (as some editors suggest) by putting into this huge armlet ten pounds of gold. One wonders whether Trimalchio ever wore it.

9. **capsellam**: "locket." **Felicionem**: "luck-

charm:" it is also the name of one of the Lares in 60:8.
crotalia: "earrings."

10. **excatarissasti**: "cleaned me out." **nunc . . . potare**: "to spend good money and get a poor return."

11. **sauciae**: "insulted" rather then "drunk" as usually explained.

13. **au au**: cf. Introd. 42.E.1 and 6.a. **indecens**: if the text is sound, her "shamelessness" consisted in hiding only the lower part of her face, which was blushing, her eyes remaining visible. **rubore**: abl. of cause with *abscondit*.

68. The dessert is served.

1. **ex . . . tritum**: "of powdered mica:" sheets of this substance were used in windows.

3. **muta**: "change the tune."

4. **interea . . . tenebat**: Virg. *Aen.* 5:1.

5. **errantis . . . clamorem**: "the singsong" (cf. crescendo and diminuendo) "of his barbarous pronunciation." **Atellanicos versus**: cf. 53:13 and note. **Vergilius**: though it is not Virgil's fault; for Petronius' (Encolpius'?) admiration for Virgil cf. 118:5 and Introd. 13.

6. **erudibam**: for *erudiebam*.

7. **volet**: a popular inflection, though whether Habinnas means it to be indic. or subj. is uncertain. **desperatum valde**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.b. **omnis . . . mancipium**: "henchman of every Muse" (especially the Muses of cooking and baking).

8. **recutitus est**: "has been circumcised." **strabonus**: "squint-eyed:" for this characteristic of Venus cf. Ovid *A.A.* 2:659; statues of Venus sometimes give the impression that she squints. **vix . . . umquam**: "with an eye never still."

69. Scintilla adds other recommendations, and more dishes are served.

1. **agaga**: "a Don Juan" (Heseltine).

2. **adcognosco**: cf. Introd. 42.D.1. **Cappadocem**: despite the individual who appears in 63:5, this people had a bad reputation. **defraudit**: for *defraudat*. **id . . . parentat**: i.e., I praise him for enjoying life now, for after death neither good times nor praise can delight him.

3. **debatuere**: "make love to." **in vilicationem**: "to manage a country estate:" slaves in comedy are frequently threatened with being sent to the country where work was harder and pleasures fewer.

5. **fata egit**: "acted the experiences." **Massa**: the slave's name.

6. **epidipnis**: the final course of the dessert. **siligine**: "of meal." **farsi**: for *farti*.

7. **Cydonia mala**: "quinces" (from Cydonia in Crete).

8. **ut . . . putabamus**: i.e., we thought it to be a goose.

9. **Saturnalibus**: dolls and similar objects of clay were made for distribution as presents at this time.

70. 2. **volueris**: paratactic assumption, a survival of a type found in a very early period and which developed into a cond. **palumbum**: for *palumbem*. **colaepio**: "knuckle of

pork." **Daedalus**: named for the "ingenious" craftsman who built the Cretan Labyrinth and escaped from the island by means of wings.

3. **Norico**: Noricum was a center of the iron industry.

4. **ad lacum**: "at a corner fountain" such as were common in Pompeii and elsewhere.

5. **tulit**: "accepted."

6. **gastris**: "jars:" cf. 79:3.

10. **permitto**: sc. *discumbas*. Philargyrus, Carrio, and Menophila are slaves. **prasinianus**: "follower of the green faction:" charioteers in the circus races were attached to one or another of four factions, designated by colors, each of which had its "rooters."

12. **fetentem**: "reeking."

13. **Ephesum**: unknown.

71. Trimalchio gives directions regarding his tomb and his will.

1. **lactem**: here masc.; cf. also Introd. 42.B.2. **me salvo**: this formal, solemn and inappropriate phase is significant of Trimalchio's befuddled state of mind. **liberam**: "of freedom."

2. **insulam**: "tenement."

4. **oblitus nugarum**: cf. 136:5; Sen. *Apoc.* 7:3.

6. **pingas**: "paint." Trimalchio is in no condition to discriminate among the arts, and traces of painting are found on ancient sculpture, but perhaps he means here merely "represent." **ut . . . ducenti**: an enormous lot, compared to the usual twenty to thirty square feet, but nothing less would suit Trimalchio.

7. **largiter**: cf. Introd. 42.D.4.c. The const. is clear but not class. **hoc . . . sequatur**: this formula (usually with *sequitur*), abbreviated often to H.M.H.N.S., is common in epitaphs.

8. **custodiae**: tombs were favorite places to display election posters and other advertisements (cf. Sage, "Advertising among the Romans," *C.W.* 9.203-208). **cacatum currat**: "to commit any nuisance."

9. **te . . . denarios**: incidents from Trimalchio's career are to be depicted on his tomb as they are in the mural paintings in his house (29). **quinque**: cf. 32:3 and note; Trimalchio takes full advantage of the privilege accorded him as *sevir*, to wear one gold ring during his term of office. **binos denarios**: cf. 45:10 and note.

10. **faciatur**: cf. Introd. 42.B.4. **triclinia**: possibly fem. sing., with shift of declension, but probably neut. pl. as usual; in the latter case it may take a sing. verb as in Greek or it may be a mistake on Trimalchio's part.

11. **velit nolit**: cf. Introd. 42.E.5; Otto s.v. *velle* and the English derivative "willy-nilly."

12. **decuriae**: "clubs:" cf. Suet. *Tib.* 41; *Claud.* 1; they were primarily organizations of public servants but had some social features. Trimalchio implies that any distinction was open to him. **vale et tu**: *"vale"* is spoken by Trimalchio, *"et tu (vale)"* by a passer-by; such imaginary dialogues are common in epitaphs.

72. 5. **respiciens ad**: cf. 71:5.

7. **catenarius**: "on a chain:" an unusual use of this suffix.

73. The guests give up their hope of escape and rejoin Trimalchio.

1. **labyrintho**: i.e., it was as hard to get out of the house as to escape from the Labyrinth.

3. **sono**: the echo from the vaulted ceiling. **Menecratis**: a famous musician of Nero's time: cf. Suet. *Nero* 30.

4. **gingilipho**: "laughter;" there are two abls., either of which may be modified by *ingenti* (probably *clamore*). **alii . . . tangere**: distinguish three forms of exercise going on.

5. **solium**: "bath." **sacco**: "(leather) flask."

6. **barbatoriam**: sc. *diem;* cf. 29:8 and note. **praefiscini**: "(I say this) without offence:" i.e., hoping that this compliment will have no evil consequences. **micarius**: "crumb-saver" (Sedgwick). **tangomenas**: cf. 34:7 and note.

74. The dinner is resumed.

1. **vinum . . . manum**: devices to avert the evil omen of the crowing of the rooster: cf. Pliny *N.H.* 28:26; 57.

3. **corollarium**: "reward," originally a metal garland.

9. **ex aequo**: "on equal terms."

13. **ambubaia**: perhaps this experience may explain Fortunata's skill at the cordax: cf. 52:8. **machilla**: "the slave block." **in . . . spuit**: to avert the evil results of too long prosperity. **codex . . . mulier**: "a log, not a woman:" cf. 38:15 and note. **sed . . . somniatur**: proverbial. **pergula**: "shanty."

somniatur: for *somniat*.

14. **domata**: for *domita*. **Cassandra caligaria**: lit. "heavy-booted Cassandra:" if there is in *caligaria* an allusion to the thick-soled shoes worn by tragic actors, Fortunata may at one time have been an actress (cf. *ambubaia* above), who had enacted the rôle of Cassandra: hence Waters' "tragedy-queen" may be correct.

15. **potui**: i.e., as a dowry. **Agatho**: "the lady next door" may have been a customer or the real owner of the business.

16. **bonatus ago**: "try to do my duty:" on the form cf. Introd. 42.D.4.d. **asciam**: i.e., Fortunata.

17. **curabo . . . quaeras**: "I'll teach you to use your nails on me." **depraesentiarum**: "at once."

75. The guests intercede for Fortunata.

4. **ab oculo**: "at sight." **Thraecium**: "gladiator suit." **diariis**: "daily allowances." **arcisellium**: "round-backed chair."

6. **fulcipedia**: "high-stepper:" cf. Introd. 42.D.5. **concoquas**: lit. "digest:" cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 318 for a similar figure. **ringentem**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.g.

7. **clavo tabulari**: proverbial: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5:22.53.

8. **vivorum meminerimus**: i.e., let's forget Fortunata: cf. 43:1. **quisquilia**: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.d. **sterteia**: lit. "snorer," here "sniveler."

10. **rostrum**: cf. Introd. 42.E.6.g. **de lucerna**: "(with oil) from the lamp."

76. 1. **cerebellum**: "brains" so here "place."

2. **coheredem**: it was customary to name the emperor as a legatee, partly to prevent him from setting aside the will and taking the whole estate. **laticlavium**: i.e., sufficient to have given me the senatorial census: cf. 38:7 and note.

4. **naufragarunt**: act. for dep.

5. **gusti**: probably a popular form of the dat. for *gustui*.

6. **seplasium**: "perfumes." **rem piam**: Trimalchio can give Fortunata her due even in her disgrace.

7. **cito . . . volunt**: cf. Otto s.v. *deus*. **corrotundavi**: "I piled up."

9. **manum de tabula**: i.e., I knew when to stop.

sustuli: "I retired."

11. **ab . . . acu**: proverbial, like our "from A to Z."

intestinas: cf. Introd. 42.B.1.c.

77. 1. **tu . . . fecisti**: "you have taken a wife from such-and-such a place."

2. **sub ala**: "in your bosom."

4. **cusuc**: "hut:" perhaps the same word as "kiosk."

susum: "upstairs:" a colloquial form. **cellationem**: "dormitory" (lit. "row of cells").

5. **mavoluit**: for *maluit*. **hospitari**: "to stay."

6. **assem . . . habeberis**: cf. Introd. 42.C.2.e.

78. 2. **gloriosus**: "in style."

4. **parentalia**: "funeral."

5. **dicite . . . belli**: "play something pretty."

7. **vigiles**: detachments of troops which afforded fire and police protection. **suo iure**: "in their usual fashion."

79. The friends escape in the confusion and finally reach their lodgings.

1. **fax**: "street-lamp." **occurrentium**: in the unlighted streets wayfarers carried their own torches, but Encolpius met none of them to show him the road.

2. **obscura**: transferred epithet.

3. **scirpos**: "rough spots."

4. **pridie**: i.e., on the way to the banquet.

creta: "chalk."

[After their escape from the banquet Encolpius and Ascyltos resume their feud and agree to part, dividing their possessions and planning to divide Giton as well. This scene (79:11-80:1) has been compared with a wall painting in Pompeii and with the Judgment of Solomon. Another solution is found, by leaving the decision to Giton, who chooses Ascyltos. Encolpius seeks revenge.]

82. This little comic tragedy is filled with reminiscences of the epic style.

1. **cingor**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:671. **furentisque**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:314-316.

3. **phaecasiati**: the *phaecasia* was a light (white?) shoe (cf. 67:4), inappropriate for wear by soldiers, whose regular footwear was the *caliga* from which the emperor Caligula received his name.

[Encolpius seeks consolation in a picture-gallery and there meets Eumolpus.]

83. 1. **pinacothecam**: "picture-gallery." **Zeuxidos**: Zeuxis, a great Greek painter of the 4th century B.C., was distinguished for realistic detail. **Protogenis**: Protogenes, a contemporary of Apelles, was noted for accuracy in form and color. **rudimenta**: "early works."

2. **Apellis**: Apelles was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and the only artist allowed to paint his portrait. Why he was called the "one-color painter" is unknown. The reading may be wrong, but nothing better has been suggested.

3. **Idaeum**: Ganymedes, carried off by the eagle to become Jove's cup-bearer. **Hylas**: a boy dear to Hercules, with whom a water-nymph fell in love. **damnabat**: Apollo killed Hyacinthus accidentally and caused the flower to spring from the blood.

6. **Lycurgo**: legendary lawgiver of Sparta. Giton's cruelty consisted in his choosing Ascyltos in preference to Encolpius.

7. **senex**: Eumolpus.

9. **quare . . . fecit**: cf. the similar plaint of Martial (6:82.9ff.).

10. **qui . . . artes**: Eumolpus breaks into poetry with great ease (cf. 90:3) and is usually less well received. Hence there may be lacunae before and after the poem, though the sense is complete.

[Eumolpus diverts Encolpius by an account of some of his adventures in Asia (85-87).]

88. The decline of art is attributed by Eumolpus mainly to love of money, though moral decay, the loss of public interest, and the unwillingness of modern youth to follow the hard ways of their predecessors share the blame. While there was a lively demand for works of art in the early Empire, there were no more great artists (cf. 2:9). Roman methods of large-scale production and the commercialization of society were of course partly responsible.

2. **tropica**: "changes."

3. **Democritus**: Greek philosopher of the 5th century B.C., best known for his atomic theory, adopted by Epicurus and Lucretius. The basis for the story here told is unknown.

4. **Eudoxos**: Greek astronomer of the 4th century B.C. Much of his life was spent in his observatory at Cnidus.

Chrysippus: chief of the Stoics (3rd century B.C.). Hellebore was a well-known purgative, used for mental disorders and paralysis (see Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy, passim*). That Chrysippus used it in this way is not confirmed by other authorities.

5. **plastas**: "the plastic arts." **Lysippum**: if this is the great Lysippus, sculptor to Alexander the Great and creator of 1500 statues, for each of which he put a gold piece in his strong box (Pliny *N.H.* 34:37), the story here related can hardly be true. His son of the same name was a sculptor of less repute.

Myron: one of the greatest of the Greek sculptors (5th century B.C.), best known for his Discobolus.

8. **extulerit**: "buries."

10. **Phidiasque**: greatest of Greek sculptors and architects, most

famous for the Olympian Zeus, the Athena Parthenos and for his work on the Parthenon. On the whole argument cf. Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 1:pref.6ff.; Pliny *N.H.* 14:1.5. It seems to have been a favorite theme of declamation.

89. Eumolpus, taking as a text a picture of the death of Laocoon, delivers an extemporaneous poem on the Fall of Troy. See the Supplementary Notes for a more complete discussion. The meter is iambic trimeter.

v. 1. **decima**: the traditional duration of the Trojan war.

v. 4. **Delio**: Apollo.

v. 7. **obducti specus**: "dark caverns."

v. 8. **caperent**: both "able to" and "intended to hold the host." **proelio**: with *irata*.

v. 10. **voto**: since ostensibly the horse was vowed to the gods: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:183-184.

v. 12. **hoc**: i.e., this opinion (obj. of *firmabat*).

v. 13. **Sinon**: he plays a larger rôle in the Aeneid than here.

v. 21. **tradunt**: "betray."

v. 22. **ictus**: "the blow."

v. 27. **capta . . . capit**: for the play on words cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7:295; Lucr. 1:941; Hor. *Epist.* 2:1.156.

v. 31. **unda . . . minor**: i.e., *unda minor resultat, quae tranquillo scissa est.* **tranquillo**: "in the calm (sea)."

v. 38. **liberae . . . consentiunt**: with this punctuation, the meaning seems to be "their crests move side by side, free over the open water." But perhaps the punctuation should be after *luminibus*, in which case the sense would be "their crests blaze as fiercely as their eyes."

v. 43. **Lauconti**: dat. for gen.

v. 48. **liberum**: gen. pl.

v. 63. **mortem**: cf. 79:10.

90. 1. **quidam . . . miserunt**: Pliny the Younger applauds the writers who have the courage to hold *recitationes* and gives them his encouragement, yet it is clear that they might and did become annoying.

3. **poetice**: "like a poet," contrasted with *humane*.

4. **sanguinem . . . mittam**: a frequent treatment administered to madmen: cf. Cels. 2:10; Juv. 6:46.

5. **auspicatus sum**: "begun:" an untechnical use of a technical term. **hac adventicia**: "in this strange (way)."

[Eumolpus and Encolpius visit a bath before dinner, but are separated. Eumolpus is expelled for trying to recite a poem to the bathers (92:6). Meanwhile Encolpius finds Giton and takes him to his lodgings (91:9), where they are later joined by Eumolpus, who is attracted to Giton (92:5).]

93. 3. Eumolpus breaks his vow by reciting a poem, and is rebuked by Encolpius. **synoecio**: "room" (where several people meet). **pinacothecam . . . balneum**: cf. 90:1 and 92:6.

94. Eumolpus again expresses his admiration for Giton and arouses the jealousy of Encolpius.

1. **felicem**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1:605ff. **macte virtute esto**: a conventional phrase of approbation: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9:641. **raram . . . forma**: cf. Juv. 10:208.

3. **miles**: cf. 82.

5. **conveniat**: impersonal: "how these habits do not agree."

8. **semicinctio**: "belt."

11. **praecipitia**: "fall," i.e., by throwing myself out of a window.

12. **mercennario**: a freeman whose services are hired.

14. **rudis**: "untempered," "dull." **instruxerat thecam**: "had grown a cover," i.e., it was as safe to handle as if in a case.

95. 1. **deversitor**: "waiter."

2. **molitio**: "moving," hence "device," "scheme."

4. **excussissima**: "fully outstretched."

7. **redditaque . . . vice**: "having returned the favor to the brawling fellow:" Eumolpus had locked Encolpius in (94:7); now Encolpius locks Eumolpus out.

8. **coctores**: "cooks." **insulariique**: "lodgers" in the *insula*. **carnario**: "meat-rack."

96. 4. **advocationemque commodabam**: "I supported their cause." **procurator**: "caretaker."

97. Ascyltos comes in search of Giton.

1. **proclamavit**: one of the regular ways of advertising.

4. **institis**: "webbing." **culcitam**: "mattress." **Ulixes**: Ulysses escaped from the cave of the Cyclops by clinging to the fleece under the body of the ram (*Od.* 9:426ff.).

7. **oppessulatas**: "bolted."

98. 1. **harundinem**: "broom." **sciniphes**: "bedbugs" and so by metonymy "the bedding." The meaning "mosquitoes" is clearly inapplicable here (Isid. 12:8.14; Oros. 7:27.6). Ascyltos is not mentioned again in the Satiricon.

4. **sternutavit**: "sneezed."

99. 1. **ego . . . consumerem**: it is uncertain to whom this edifying sentiment should be attributed; probably for irony's sake, to Eumolpus, who is thus reconciled to Giton.

2. **scabitudinem**: "irritation."

3. **ast**: the only occurrence of this form in the Satiricon, and appropriate to the solemnity and formality of the occasion.

4. **quod . . . eveniat**: the usual prayer at the beginning of an undertaking: cf. 117:11; Cic. *de div.* 1:102.

5. **propudium**: "signal for departure."

100. The companions board the ship on which Eumolpus had already engaged passage. Encolpius nourishes his jealousy of Eumolpus.

1. **in . . . manant**: cf. Ovid *Met.* 6:349ff.

2. **infra fiduciam**: "without convincing myself."

3. **constratum**: "deck."

7. **Licham . . . Tryphaenam**: ancient enemies of Encolpius and Giton, though the extant fragments do not contain the episodes which explain the quarrel. The words overheard in secs. 3 and 4 are those of Lichas and Tryphaena respectively.

101. 3. **invidia**: "attack."

4. **familiae negotiantis**: "business," i.e., the personnel of a business.

7. **fingite**: Eumolpus realizes the gravity of the situation and they discuss means of escape.

102. 10. **semel**: the other occasion is unknown.

14. **increta**: "whiten with chalk." **una . . . ratione**: to be taken together.

15. **arcessito ferrumine**: "without the use of any glue." Giton is fond of long words and fine phrases.

103. 1. **facite**: Eumolpus proposes the plan which is adopted.

2. **inscriptione**: runaway slaves were branded when caught. **stigmate**: Eumolpus inflects the word correctly, whereas Echion (45:9) makes it a 1st decl. fem. noun.

4. **epigramma**: usually the letter "F" (for *fugitivus*).

5. **ultimum votum**: cf. 104:5 and 105:1.

104. 1. **videbatur**: Lichas is speaking.

2. **tetrastylo**: "gallery."

105. Lichas, informed of the hair-cutting, seeks for the offenders.

2. **auspicium feci**: cf. 90:5 for a similar phrase in a somewhat different sense: cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1:1.86.

4. **placuit**: a flogging is decided upon, and the identity of the culprits is revealed.

10. **nutricem**: the story of the recognition of Ulysses by the old nurse Euryclia is told by Homer (*Od.* 19:473ff.).

106. 1. **biberint**: "absorbed," though this use of the word can hardly be paralleled. Tryphaena appears to believe that the scars (*vulnera*) have been filled up with ink to make the letters more legible.

2. **memor**: the insults referred to were recounted in some lost portion of the book.

107. Eumolpus intercedes for Encolpius and Giton.

3. **liberos**: i.e., "free" as far as Lichas is concerned. Eumolpus still claims them as his slaves (cf. sec. 6 below).

6. **intervenissent**: legal, of the embezzlement of money intrusted to one person for delivery to another.

10. **invidiam facis**: "try to put us in the wrong" (Mitchell). **clamando**: cf. *excitando,* 2:2 and note.

15. **salamandra**: a lizard that was supposed to remove all hair from a human body that it touched. It was also so cold that, like ice, it would extinguish fire (Pliny *N.H.* 10:188ff.; 29:74). **exussit**: the physical effects of extreme heat and cold are similar. Lichas confuses the two assumed properties of the salamander. **pharmace**: "scoundrel" (lit. "sorcerer").

108. Encolpius is too embarrassed to reply, and both sides prepare for war.

10. **missione**: "surrender."

11. **iam**: cf. 94:14.

12. **tralaticium**: "ordinary."

14. **quis . . . fluctus**: a parody of the epic style: cf. Collignon *Étude,* p. 109ff.; Sen. *Apoc.* 7 and the numerous mock-heroic titles like Pseudaeneas among the fragments of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae.*

v. 2. **Troius heros**: Paris.

v. 3. **pignus Atridae**: Helen, wife of Menelaus, son of Atreus.

v. 4. **Medea**: Medea, fleeing with Jason, delayed her father's pur-

suit by dismembering her brother Absyrtus and throwing the parts into the sea: cf. Cic. *de imp. Cn. Pomp.* 22.

109. 1. **effudit**: almost "spouted," a favorite word to describe poetic "effusions:" cf. 23:2; 124:2. **queis**: old form for *quibus*, in harmony with the elaborately formal and traditional wording of a treaty, which in Rome was a matter of ritual: cf. Livy 1:24.4ff.

2. **ex . . . sententia**: "on your part" with an added idea of willing acceptance. **coitum . . . constrictum**: "the close embrace of love."

6. **convellebat**: "caught."

8. **spargebat**: apparently part of the technique of flirtation, but not otherwise known. The last few drops in a cup were often used in other ways. **stigmososque**: from *stigma* (103:2). **elegidarion**: "elegy," dimin. Three elegiac couplets are followed by seven hendecasyllabics.

9. v. 2. **vernantes**: "spring-time."

v. 4. **area**: i.e., "the bald spot."

10. v. 4. **tubere**: "mushroom." **unda**: apparently "the rain," since such growths spring up in wet weather.

110. The defects of appearance are removed.

1. **corymbio**: "set of curls."

2. **supercilia**: cf. Mart. 9:37.6. **pyxide**: "make-up box," not "jewel-box" as in 29:8.

5. **capillamento**: "transformation." **commendatior**: "more pleasing." **flavum**: whether or not it was intrinsically more beautiful than dark hair, yellow hair was fashionable in the early Empire, and large quantities of it were imported from Germany.

8. **sua memoria**: in the usual fashion of story-tellers, Eumolpus relates the episode as occurring under his own observation, despite the fact that the story is found elsewhere.

111. Eumolpus tells the story of the Widow of Ephesus. For more detailed discussion of the origin and history of the story consult the Supplementary Notes.

1. **Ephesi**: probably for each repetition of the story a new and suitable scene was selected, but gradually it was localized permanently at Ephesus. The beginning of the story may be compared with the conventional openings of such folk-tales and especially with the story of Cupid and Psyche (Apul. *Met.* 4:28).

2. **conditorium**: "tomb." **hypogaeo**: "vault." **Graeco more**: just what part of her conduct is Greek is not clear. **noctibus**: this popular const. (cf. 57:9 and note) even invaded the semi-formal language used in this story.

5. **crucibus**: a regular punishment for dangerous criminals and slaves.

6. **sepulturam**: refusal of burial was the extreme punishment, since it excluded the soul from the lower world: this belief is the motif of Sophocles' *Antigone*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6:327-328.

8. **cetera**: the arguments are in general the same as those found in more serious consolatory works in Greek and Latin, like the first

book of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations,* Seneca's consolatory letters and essays, pseudo-Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium,* etc.

10. **ab eo**: "by him:" *eo* does not modify *odore*. The const. is awkward and the text probably corrupt, though readable.

12. **id . . . sepultos**: Virg. *Aen.* 4:34. **revivi-scere**: "to be restored to life."

112. 2. **placitone . . . arvis**: Virg. *Aen.* 4:38-39.

3. **quisque**: sometimes rel. in informal Latin.

5. **cruciarii**: "the crucified (criminal)." **officio**: i.e., burial.

6. **dum desidet**: "while he was off duty."

7. **impendere**: from *impendeo; mortuum* and *vivum* are subjs. of the infins.

[The hilarity is increased by Eumolpus' story, though Encolpius still feels abused (113).]

114. A storm comes up and the ship is wrecked.

1. **inhorruit**: cf. the description of the storm in Virg. *Aen.* 1:81ff. The perfs. are of instantaneous action.

5. **vestem**: this theft is not elsewhere mentioned, but forms part of the grievance of Lichas against Encolpius. **sistrumque**: used in the worship of Isis, a divinity popular among sailors.

6, 7. **et . . . abduxere**: it is characteristic of Petronius' cynicism that the innocent should perish in the storm while Encolpius and his companions survive.

8. **certissimae . . . applicitus**: any arrangement of the text is harsh, but *morti applicitus* "in the arms of death" gives a possible sense.

11. **iuncta**: transferred epithet: Giton is still rhetorical. **lapidabit**: not "stone us to death" but "pile stones on us (in burial):" another example of Giton's style of eloquence.

115. 1. **diaeta**: "cabin."

4. **laborat**: "limps" (lit. "struggles") "at the close."

5. **mugientem**: Petronius is rarely complimentary to Eumolpus' poetry.

9. **hunc forsitan**: the most conspicuous example of fine writing in the Satiricon, yet not wholly burlesque.

14. **disponite**: "dispose of" (by will).

20. **ad . . . sensus**: Heseltine's "far-fetched expressions" suggests the meaning. Eumolpus wanted no trite or easily discovered sentiment: cf. *arcessere longius,* 37:1.

116. While the ship had started from the bay of Naples, the landing after the wreck is near Crotona, on the sole of the boot. Whether Petronius deliberately omitted indications of the passage of time, or whether they have disappeared in epitomization is unknown.

2. **Crotona**: the scene of the final sections of the Satiricon.

6. **captantur**: a recognized means of making a livelihood in the early Empire was securing mention in the wills of the wealthy. This was known technically as *captatio* (cf. 3:3 and note). Regulus in the letters of the younger Pliny (2:20, etc.) is the typical example: cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius,* index s.v. "captation."

8. **soli militares**: almost an unconscious parody of the Stoic doctrine that the perfect *sapiens* stands supreme in every activity.

117. Eumolpus plans to capitalize the habits of the people of Crotona.

1. **divinationis**: perhaps in reference to the unscrupulous methods of fortune tellers and hence "trickery;" perhaps on the analogy of the legal *divinatio* a means of finding out the future and so "forecast."

2. **scena**: Eumolpus is thinking of his proposal *mimum componere*, to be made in sec. 4. **peram**: "wallet," usually that of the Cynic as in 14:2 and so unfilled.

3. **atquin . . . praebuisset**: the lacuna makes the text and meaning obscure. Lycurgus is unknown, but is not the lawgiver of 86:6. **Deum Matrem**: Cybele, whose worship had been introduced into Rome from the East in 204 B.C. The const. of the sentence is doubtful, due to the preceding lacuna.

5. **sacramentum**: the oath of a soldier to his commander or a gladiator to his trainer.

6. **serviliter ficti**: "posing as slaves."

7. **ministerio**: "service:" abstract for concrete, as often.

8. **nominibus**: "notes," i.e., evidence of money loaned or invested.

9. **solutioris**: "weak," "unsettled."

11. **detrectator**: "shirker."

12. **caballi**: the colloquial word in place of the literary *equus*. The Romance words are derived from *caballus*.

118. Eumolpus takes advantage of the journey to Crotona to discourse on epic poetry. His remarks agree in general with the views of Encolpius and Agamemnon on rhetoric. See the Supplementary Notes.

1. **pedibus**: "in metrical form." **ambitu**: "in a garment of words:" the indirectness of poetry as compared with the directness of prose. **Heliconem**: the home of the Muses.

2. **faciliorem**: Tacitus (*Dial.* 5, etc.) speaks of the temptation to regard poetry as easier than prose. **controversiam**: "declamation." **sententiolis**: "epigrams," the composition of which was a goal of the literature of the period: cf. Introd. 3, 13.

3. **vanitatem**: "folly."

4. **vilitate**: "commonness:" i.e., one's language should not be cheapened by vulgar use. The Atticists (cf. Introd. 14) urged that literary style should be the reproduction of the speech of cultivated persons. Petronius is not in disagreement with them, since he specifies the use of words not employed by the uneducated multitude (*a plebe submotae*). There were many levels within the range of informal Latin. **odi . . . arceo**: Hor. *Od.* 3:1.1.

5. **sententiae**: neglect of this principle often mars the work of writers like Seneca and Lucan, whose attention was too often centered on the epigram rather than on the whole discourse. **vestibus**: "garment," "material." **curiosa felicitas**: cf. Introd. 13.

6. **belli**: cf. Introd. 15 and Supplementary Notes on the passage. **non . . . fides**: the meaning of this difficult passage may be summarized as follows: An historical subject belongs to the historian rather than the epic poet. The historian's function is

to tell the truth, with the same scrupulous regard for the facts as if he were on the witness stand under oath; the poet should lead us through realms of fancy, employ divine interventions, carry us aloft on the wings of the imagination, so that we may find in his words the prophetic utterance of a soul inspired (cf. the poet's "fine frenzy"). **ambages**: lit. "roundabout ways," hence "fancies:" cf. Hor. *A.P.* 151, *sic veris falsa remiscet.* **ministeria**: "interventions." **fabulosum . . . tormentum**: the struggle in the poet's soul of imagination seeking expression. The *vates,* first seer, later poet, was thought of as inspired. So Demodocus in Homer sings what God puts into his head (*Od.* 8:499). **furentis**: "possessed by the frenzy (of inspiration)." **vaticinatio**: "utterance of a *vates:*" cf. above. **religiosae**: "under oath." **impetus**: "attempt." **manum**: "finishing touches."

119. The purpose and character of the poem are discussed in conjunction with the preceding theory. The general structure of the poem is as follows: The moral, social and political causes of the war (1-60); the leaders (61-66); the appeal of Dis to Fortuna to check Rome's megalomania and satisfy the lower world's desire for blood (67-99); the reply of Fortuna (100-125); omens foretelling calamity (126-143); Caesar's speech to his soldiers (144-176); the hardships of his journey across the Alps (177-208); the effect on Rome of the news of Caesar's approach (209-244); the flight of the gods from the earth and their alignment as partisans (245-270); Discord's call to arms (271-294); the presentation in summary of the consequences (295).

It will be remembered that in 118 Petronius (or Eumolpus) denied that historical subjects should be chosen for epic poetry. Here he shows how such a subject might be treated, with the machinery of the mythological epic, if it must be chosen by the epic poet. Lucan is the chief source for the facts, though in the description of Caesar's crossing of the Alps Livy rather than Lucan has been followed. The historical inaccuracies in Petronius' narrative will be noticed in the notes. The meter is dactylic hexameter.

v. 1. Roman ambition, like Roman power, has no limits: cf. Lucan 1:110. The entire first section of Petronius may be compared with Lucan. 1.158ff.

v. 2. **sidus**: i.e., west and east.

v. 3. **gravidis**: "heavy-laden" with soldiers.

v. 4. **ultra**: "remote:" no region that was rich lay too far away for Roman ambition and desire.

v. 7. **non . . . voluptas**: luxury is no longer satisfied with the usual pleasures.

v. 9. **aes Ephyreiacum**: this conjecture of Heinsius offers the most probable restoration of a corrupt passage, and has some support from the MSS. The apparent meaning is that even the common soldier on foreign service was a connoisseur of art objects, but *miles* may be merely the average Roman: cf. v. 32.

v. 10. **nitor**: taken with *quaesitus tellure*: "gems."

certaverat: the tense suggests "had come to rival" (an act going on in the past and continued from a remoter past): cf. *despoliaverat,* v. 12.

v. 11. **accusant**: i.e., accuse the Romans of plundering their marble quarries. **vellera**: "silks:" cf. Virg. *Geor.* 2:120-121. The difficulty of the sentence is increased by the zeugma, *despoliaverat* governing *vellera* and *arva*. The riches acquired from Arabia were mainly incense and perfumes.

v. 13. **ecce**: traffic in wild beasts for games is conducted on a large scale.

v. 14. **auro**: "for gold" which should have been spent for useful things.

v. 15. **belua**: the lion. **dente . . . pretiosa**: "with teeth valuable for killing:" a strained but vigorous expression.

v. 16. **fames . . . advena**: in apposition with *tigris* which is described as "imported hunger:" cf. Lucan 1:42 *premit aspera classes.* **premit**: the grain fleet was used to import animals for the arena: cf. Suet. *Nero* 45.

v. 17. **aula**: "cage."

v. 19. **heu**: the old personal morality declines and the Persian custom of having eunuchs as slaves is introduced.
perituraque: transferred epithet: it is the Romans who are doomed.

v. 20. **male**: almost a negative as often in Petronius and here practically equivalent to *vix*. **pubescentibus . . . viros**: i.e., "boys."

v. 21. **surripuere**: "kidnapped."

v. 22. **in . . . fregere**: "destroyed for purposes of love." **fuga . . . aevi**: i.e., the effect of mutilation was to prevent boys from reaching manhood; so "that the passing of youth, checked" (lit. "cheated") "by delay, may hold back the hastening years."

v. 24. **quaerit**: nature is not allowed to take its course.
omnibus . . . quaerunt: for such marks of effeminacy and wantonness cf. Chryses' analysis of Encolpius in 126:1-3.

v. 25. **fracti . . . gressus**: "halting gait," which may be assumed or may be a result of the condition described in *enervi corpore.*

v. 27. **quaeque**: "(those things) which." **eruta**: agrees with *mensa.*

v. 29. **ponitur . . . lignum**: the order of these verses in the MSS. is 28, 29, 30. An easy change is to reverse 28 and 29, thus bringing *quae* of 30 closer to its antecedents. **maculis . . . vilibus**: "with its markings (intrinsically) less valuable."

v. 28. **citrea**: the contrast between the material of the table and *aurum* seems to demand *citrea* despite *eruta,* with which cf. the literal use of the same word in v. 35. **greges . . . ostrumque**: supply verbs from *ponitur.*

v. 30. **quae . . . censum**: "which throw into confusion our fortunes." Tables of citrus wood, made from single cross sections of a tree, brought very high prices in Rome (for details cf. Baldwin *ad loc.*). Trimalchio is a sufficient commentary on the other items of expense mentioned. **hoc sterile**: because diverted from a more natural and productive use. **male nobile**: because used for an ignoble purpose: for the force of *male* cf. v. 20 and note.

v. 31. **sepulta mero**: cf. 89 v. 56.

v. 33. **ingeniosa gula est**: the same phrase is used in Mart. 13:62.2.

v. 34. **vivus**: cf. Mart. 13:79.

v. 35. **eruta**: literal, despite the figurative use in v. 27. Petronius is not a professional poet, and his poem is professedly a preliminary sketch, so that such inconsistencies need not disturb us.
vendunt: "recommend:" cf. Cic. *Att.* 13:12.2.

v. 36. **renovent . . . famem**: "renew hunger by expensive means:" oysters were appetizers rather than food. **Phasidos**: Phasis, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, was the source of the supply of pheasants, and gave the bird its Roman name.

v. 39. **nec**: these social changes affect politics.

v. 40. **vertunt**: i.e., transfer their votes according to the bids of candidates.

v. 41. **venalis**: cf. Jugurtha's comment in Sall. *Jug.* 35:10.

v. 42. **libera virtus**: the spirit which had maintained democratic institutions had gone even from the old men, born in a less corrupt age.

v. 45. **Cato**: the defeat of Cato for the praetorship by Vatinius in 55 B.C. seemed to men like Cicero to mark the complete corruption of politics. For Cato as a standard of conduct cf. 132:15 and note. **tristior**: not saddened by his victory, but by the realization of its significance as the mark of the end of free government.

v. 47. **dedecoris**: part. gen. with *hoc;* the const. shifts with *ruina,* but we need not emend.

v. 48. **in uno**: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1:11.

v. 50. **sui merces**: cf. Lucan 2:655-656 *bellorum maxima merces / Roma.*

v. 51. **praeterea**: luxury (rather, actually, the economic revolution that followed the conquests, though Petronius like most Romans reveals no consciousness of this) had ruined Rome financially. This distress was one reason why Catiline found so many followers.
gemino . . . gurgite: explained in the next v.

v. 52. **faenoris inluvies**: "accumulation" (lit. "overflow") "of (unpaid) interest." **ususque**: for *usura* as in Isid. 5:25.15: cf. Lucan 1:181 *usura vorax avidumque . . . faenus.*

v. 53. **certa**: "assured," because of debts.

v. 54. **tabes**: financial insecurity is first *tabes,* then an animal prowling for plunder.

v. 56. **arma**: civil war was the only remedy, as for Sulla's veterans (Cic. *Cat.* 2:20).

v. 60. **bellum**: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 27; Lucan 1:182.

120. v. 61. **tres**: the leaders of Rome and their fates. The organization of the first triumvirate was regarded by some as the beginning of the civil war (Hor. *Od.* 2:1.1.). **Fortuna**: in keeping with Petronius' theory of the way epic poetry should be written, the responsibility for bringing forward three leaders with conflicting ambitions is placed upon Fortuna, not upon the logic of actual conditions.

v. 62. **Enyo**: "strife."

v. 63. **Crassum**: killed by the Parthians in 53 B.C.
Magnus: Pompey was killed in Egypt after his defeat at Pharsalus in 48 B.C.

v. 64. **sanguine**: i.e., his own blood.

v. 67. **est**: Dis appeals to Fortuna to begin the war. The treatment is again that of the mythological epic. **locus**: the Phlegræan fields.

v. 68. **Parthenopen**: Naples. **Dicarchidos**: Puteoli.

v. 69. **Cocytia**: scanned as a word of three syllables.

v. 71. **autumno**: "in the autumn" when the crops ripened. The contrast with *verno cantu* in v. 72 defends the reading.

v. 72. **persona**: "resounding with." **cantu**: Avernus was traditionally without bird life (Virg. *Aen.* 6:237ff., etc.).

v. 73. **discordi**: not "discordant" but "of many tones:" cf. *discoloria* in 97:3, meaning "many-colored."

v. 75. **tumulata**: "cairn-like."

v. 77. **sparsa**: zeugma, with *flammis* and *favilla*.

v. 78. **volucrem**: both "winged" and "fickle" as often.

v. 79. **potestas**: note the repetition of the word in a different sense at the end of v. 80 and cf. note on v. 35.

v. 86. **censum . . . furentem**: "wealth running madly to ruin:" cf. v. 30.

v. 87. **aedificant**: the extensive constructions of the late Republic and early Empire (Petronius is not much troubled about anachronisms) are well known.

v. 89. **rebellant**: sc. *Romani:* i.e., they are not satisfied with conditions even after they have changed them. Tacitus (*Ann.* 15:42.1) moralizes on man's impiety in overruling nature's arrangements.

v. 92. **vanus**: the word suggests both the pretentiousness and the profitlessness of the undertakings. The stone excavated from the *antra* boasts of its use for other purposes, but the excavation disturbs the order of the lower world.

121. Fortuna agrees with Dis and grants his request for war.

v. 102. **levi**: cf. v. 244.

v. 105. **vota . . . cedent**: "my desires will (be found to) accord with yours," the fut. representing what will later be learned to be true.

v. 109. **idem . . . deus**: Mars.

v. 110. **luxum**: perhaps "my desires," perhaps "the Romans' desires" as in v. 56.

v. 111. **gemina**: i.e., of Pharsalus and Philippi, belonging to two campaigns but related to one another and occurring in places geographically close (both being in Thessaly): cf. Lucan 1:694.

v. 112. **Hiberae**: referring to Caesar's Spanish campaigns. Miss Baldwin well compares Fortuna's two-line vision of the destruction to come with Lucan's similar narration, occupying about sixty verses (7:784-846).

v. 114. **claustra**: "barriers against Libya" raised by the Nile.

v. 115. **timentes**: "(men) fearing the arms of Apollo," who had a temple on a cliff at Actium.

v. 117. **Porthmeus**: Charon: cf. Lucan 3:16-17 *praeparat innumeras puppes Acheruntis adusti / portitor.*

122. Omens announce the war that is to come: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3:18; Caes. *B.C.* 3:105; Virg. *Geor.* 1:466ff.; Ovid *Met.* 15:783ff.; Lucan 1:522-583.

v. 124. **gremio reducto**: the earth is regarded as a cloak to be drawn about the shoulders.

v. 128. **deformis**: the sun changes shape and color before its eclipse.

v. 132. **lassis**: "wearied," i.e., unable to hold their places longer. **vaga**: i.e., usually flowing freely where they willed.

v. 140. **recens**: "modern" as compared with the Jupiter of the myth who descended in a shower of gold.

v. 144. **Alpibus**: Caesar begins the passage of the Alps and addresses his soldiers as Hannibal had done. **Graio nomine**: descr. abl. **pulsae**: "trodden" (lit. "beaten").

v. 147. **claudit**: "hems in."

v. 151. **minitantibus**: "threatening," "towering."

v. 154. **prospexit**: cf. Livy 21:35.8.

v. 155. **intentans**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2:688. **dixit**: there is no evidence for a crossing of the Alps by Caesar under such conditions or for a speech. He addressed his soldiers in somewhat similar fashion at Rimini or Ravenna in January, 49 B.C. (Caes. *B.C.* 1:7). Petronius has no other opportunity for Caesar to harangue his troops and therefore combines details from different occasions. With the whole passage cf. Lucan 1:195-203 and 299-351.

v. 159. **vulnere**: the senate and Pompey broke their bargain with Caesar and finally expelled from Rome tribunes friendly to him.

v. 160. **sanguine tinguo**: cf. v. 294; Lucan 7:473.

v. 161. **iterum**: as at the invasion of the Gauls in the 4th century B.C. For the reality of the danger from the north cf. Cic. *de prov. cons.* 34.

v. 162. **Alpibus**: abl. of means: cf. Cic. *l.c.*, *Alpibus Italiam munierat . . . natura.*

v. 163. **sexagintaque**: a round number. **triumphis**: "victories."

v. 166. **operae**: hired workmen, used especially of the gangs which followed politicians like Clodius and Milo: cf. Cic. *Q.F.* 2:3.2, etc. **mea Roma noverca**: the appropriateness of these words in the mouth of the democratic leader Caesar after their use by the aristocrat Scipio (Val. Max. 6:2.3) has been questioned. Caesar never forgot that he was descended from the founders of Rome: cf. his eulogy of his aunt Julia (Suet. *Iul.* 6). This descent gave him more right than most people to say *mea Roma.*

v. 173. **sordes**: "disgrace."

v. 174. **alea**: in imitation of the phrase used at the Rubicon (Suet. *Iul.* 32).

v. 177. **haec**: Caesar begins the descent of the Alps. The passage has many echoes of Livy's description of Hannibal's march.
ales: the raven (Ovid *Met.* 2:544ff.) and the falcon (Ovid *Met.* 15:525ff.) were sacred to Apollo (hence *Delphicus*).

v. 179. **sinistra**: the lucky side in Roman augury, though the unlucky in Greek: the east was to both the fortunate quarter, but the Greeks and Romans faced in opposite directions when watching for omens.

v. 181. **vulgato . . . orbe**: "with his disk completely seen."

123. v. 184. **insolitos . . . ausus**: "unwonted enterprises," i.e., civil war.

v. 186. **horrore**: the noise produced by the soldiers' feet on the crust.

v. 187. **nimbos**: i.e., the ice.

v. 189. **mox . . . iacebat**: i.e., new torrents flowed down, then suddenly froze, so that what was before slush became solid ice which the soldiers had to chop out.

v. 193. **lusit**: grammatically, the subj. is probably *lues,* but logically the surface, now composed partly of the new-formed ice.

v. 195. **deplorata**: "mourned as lost:" cf. v. 227.

v. 196. **ecce . . . caelum**: a heavy fall of snow is added to their other difficulties.

v. 206. **Amphitryoniades**: Hercules.

v. 208. **tela**: the Giants piled Pelion on Ossa in their effort to scale Olympus.

v. 211. **Fama**: the goddess brings to Rome the news of Caesar's advance, as she informed Iarbas of Dido's infatuation for Aeneas: cf. Lucan 1:466-522.

v. 212. **Romano tonitru**: "Roman thunderbolt," a harsh but vivid figure. **signa**: "images" and so "shrines" of the gods.

v. 216. **ante . . . volitant**: cf. Lucan 7:180 *ante oculos volitare suos.*

v. 217. **duas**: i.e., flight by land and flight by sea.

v. 230. **grandaevosque patres**: sc. *trahunt* from *trahit* in v. 231, *patres* being the subj. This part of the picture will then, as Mitchell points out, resemble the departure of Aeneas from Troy.

ignara: inexperienced youths (cf. 102:12) take the things they are interested in.

v. 234. **arma ministris**: the equipment of the ship does not aid the sailors.

v. 238. **Magnus**: the general panic is communicated to Pompey and the consuls. In comparison with their terror nothing else means much.

v. 239. **Hydaspis**: a river of India, far beyond any point that Pompey reached, but Roman ideas of frontier geography were vague.

v. 240. **scopulus**: "the rock on which the pirates wrecked."

124. The gods leave the earth and prepare to take part in the war.

v. 245. **lues**: "calamity." **vidit**: i.e., the calamity involved the gods as participants in it.

v. 248. **avertitur**: "shuns," middle.

v. 264. **mutataque . . . suum**: the gods came down to earth and the heavens noticed the change in the weight upon them: cf. Lucan 1:56-58.

v. 266. **Dione**: here Venus, though strictly the mother of Venus.

v. 268. **Mavortius**: Romulus, son of Mars.

v. 269. **soror**: Diana. **proles**: Mercury, born on Cyllene.

v. 270. **Tirynthius**: Hercules, born at Tiryns. Pompey is likened to

Hercules because of the greatness of his achievements and the great territory which his campaigns covered.

v. 271. **Discordia**: Discord summons the world to battle.

v. 276. **inter . . . vestem**: "her breast convulsed beneath its tattered robe" (Baldwin).

v. 279. **Apennini**: the verse is spondaic.

v. 286. **desolata**: "feeble."

v. 288. **Marcelle**: consul in 49 B.C. and one of the leaders against Caesar. **legem**: depriving Caesar of the privileges previously granted him, if not of rights that normally appertained to his position as proconsul.

v. 289. **Curio**: as tribune in 50 B.C. he had supported Caesar's cause with great energy. **Lentule**: the other consul of 49 B.C.

v. 290. **dive**: Caesar was worshipped after his death as *divus Iulius*. The title here is an anachronism.

v. 292. **thesaurosque**: Caesar took the funds from the treasury of Saturn when he reached Rome.

v. 293. **Epidamni**: in Epirus, where Caesar later besieged Pompey.

v. 295. This line represents in summary whatever Petronius might have said. Why he stopped at this point and in this way is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps he tired of his task; perhaps he realized that to go further would commit him to the unwelcome project of writing an entire epic; perhaps he considered that he had already given a sufficient demonstration of what an epic of this sort should be if it was to be written at all. Probably all these possibilities are partly true. Whatever the purpose of the poem, Petronius thought that he had accomplished it. It is of course possible that an epitomator has substituted this line for the rest of the poem as Petronius wrote it. For further discussion of the poem see the Supplementary Notes.

[Arriving at Crotona, Eumolpus and his companions put into operation their plan for living at the expense of the legacy-hunters (124:2-125). Encolpius has an unsuccessful love-affair with Circe (126-132.14).]

132. 15. This short poem may be regarded as the author's creed. Without a context, there is no way of telling whether it was so intended by Petronius (see Introd. 18).

v. 1. **Catones**: the Cato who killed himself at Utica became proverbial for strictness of morals: cf. 119 v. 45; Mart. 11:2.1ff., etc.

v. 2. **simplicitatis**: for the interpretation of this and similar technical terms of literary criticism cf. Sage, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assn.* 46:47-57.

v. 4. **quodque . . . refert**: the artist has no concern with morality: the theory of many modern writers.

v. 7. **Epicurus**: that one should indulge in pleasure was an easy inference from Epicurus' teaching, though not an inevitable conclusion, as Lucretius shows. **arte**: "(philosophical) system."

v. 8. τέλος: philosophers debated the purposes and goals of existence: cf. Cicero's *de finibus*. The popularly accepted definition of Epicureanism identified the τέλος with physical pleasure, and therefore the Epicurean is represented as a pig on the well known silver cup from Bosco Reale: cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1:4.16.

[Encolpius' affair with Circe is so unsatisfactory that he is forced to appeal for aid to Oenothea, priestess of Priapus, and goes to her hut for treatment (132:16-136:4).]

136. 4. **anseres**: three sacred geese attack Encolpius. In its realism and in its peculiar humor the passage is unique in Latin literature.

5. **defunctorio**: "casual," "slight:" cf. *perfunctorie* in 11:4.

6. v. 1. **Stymphalidas**: the people around Lake Stymphalus in Arcadia were plagued by huge birds which Hercules drove away by beating on a sheet of metal.

v. 2. **pinnaeque**: descr. gen.

v. 3. **Harpyias**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3:211ff. **Phineo**: his cruel punishment of his sons brought the Harpies upon him. The Argonauts rescued him. Petronius contributes to the broad humor of the passage by comparing the mock-heroic victory of Encolpius to the real triumphs of Hercules and the Argonauts.

7. **fabam**: Encolpius had been instructed by Oenothea to shell some beans: cf. 135:5.

8. **verens**: whether or not Encolpius' conscience makes him a coward, his fear is soon justified. **cultu**: "kit."

9. **libaveram**: lit. "tasted," here "reached:" a much extended use of the word if the reading is right. **testo**: "jar."

11. **ignem**: the fire had been put out by an accident (136:2), and Oenothea had gone to borrow more from a neighbor.

e lege: three was a ritual number in many connections.

137. 1. **etiam**: intensive: cf. 95:4.

2. **crucem**: cf. 53:3; 111:5 and notes.

4. **struthocamelum**: "ostrich."

5. **Proselenos**: a servant of Oenothea. **impensa**: "materials" (lit. "cost"). **publicum**: cf. 3:1 and note.

6. **licet**: the lacuna makes the meaning and const. uncertain. Apparently Encolpius claims the right to offer compensation as a substitute for a penalty to be paid after condemnation.

9. **quisquis . . . Iovem**: for the sentiment cf. 14:2. Such themes were conventional, and Petronius in his moralizing moods, real or assumed, made use of them.

v. 3. **Danaen**: to whom Jupiter came as a shower of gold. Her case is a type of a difficulty to be overcome.

v. 4. **Acrisium**: father of Danae. He had shut his daughter up to prevent a marriage which was destined to produce a dangerous son, but the man with money can persuade even a father in law who is hard to please.

v. 5. **concrepet**: "deafen" with his oratory.

v. 6. **Catone**: probably Cato the Censor, whose frequent participation in lawsuits was proverbial.

v. 7. **parret**: "it is clear (proved)," a legal formula for which the archaic spelling is appropriate.

v. 8. **Servius**: probably Ser. Sulpicius Rufus of Cicero's time, one of the founders of Roman jurisprudence. **Labeo**: contemporary of Augustus, whose opinions are quoted more than five hundred times in the Digest. (The MSS. of the O family break off at the end of this poem.)

[The cure of Encolpius continues until he is able to endure no more and flees (137:10-138:8). A matron named Philomela intrusts her children to Eumolpus' care (140:1-11). Meanwhile Encolpius is restored to health by the aid of Mercury (140:12-14), but is filled with forebodings as to the outcome of their plan (140:15).]

141. In consequence of Encolpius' warnings, Eumolpus assembles the legacy-hunters and reads them his will.

2. **percipient**: "will enter upon their legacies."

3. **quasdam gentes**: unknown.

4. **his**: "for these reasons."

5. **Gorgias**: otherwise unknown, but probably a *captator*.

exsequi: "to carry out (his instructions)."

6. **pensationem**: "compensation."

8. **blandimenta**: "spices."

9. **Saguntini**: the capture of Saguntum by Hannibal in 219 B.C. brought on the Second Punic War.

10. **Petavii**: this episode is not recorded elsewhere. Perhaps *Perusini* should be read, since the people of Perusia maintained themselves thus against Octavianus in 43 B.C.: cf. Lucan 1:41.

11. **Numantia**: its capture by Scipio Aemilianus in 133 B.C. ended the Spanish resistance to Roman rule.

[While the autobiographical form of the Satiricon assures us that no serious consequences to Encolpius ensued upon the reading of Eumolpus' will, we have nothing to indicate what happened to Eumolpus. Nodot ended this episode and the book as a whole with the logical conclusion of having the people of Crotona throw Eumolpus over a cliff. Nothing is known as to the adventures of Encolpius in later parts of the narrative.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

PETRONIUS AND THE MILESIAN TALE *

1. Most of the evidence regarding this form of literature is contained in two passages of Ovid, neither of which is fully understood. Ovid is comparing his own fate with that of earlier writers of erotic literature. He says:

> Iunxit Aristides Milesia crimina secum,
> Pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est. (*Trist.* 2:413-414)

and Vertit Aristiden Sisenna, nec obfuit illi
Historiae turpes inseruisse iocos. (*Trist.* 2:443-444)

Perhaps Aristides took detached stories and brought them together in a unity which may have been merely artificial or may have been more organic. Upon these alternatives theories are built which need not be discussed here. Sisenna translated Aristides into Latin, and other theories have been designed to explain *historiae* and *iocos*. The character of Aristides' work was such that when copies were found in the baggage of Roman officers who fought at Carrhae, the Parthians were shocked at Roman interest in such stories (Plut. *Crass.* 32). Apuleius in his preface to the Metamorphoses uses the phrase *sermone isto Milesio* regarding his work, but the meaning of this is disputed. A passage which is rarely quoted in this connection, but which may have some bearing upon the question is Iulius Capitolinus, *Vita Clodii Albini* 12:12: "cum ille" (Severus) "neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apuleii sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret." This would seem not merely to label the Metamorphoses a Carthaginian version of Milesian Tales, but also to define that term as *ludicra litteraria* (cf. *iocos* above). (I owe the reference to the Bücheler-Heraeus Petronius,[6] p. 270.)

2. All that this evidence certainly means is that in their original form and regardless of possible combinations, the *Milesian Tales* were short, amusing relations of amatory adventures. They were then probably realistic in treatment. What is probably an excellent specimen is found in Eumolpus' account of his experiences in Asia (incidentally the name "Milesian" shows that such stories flourished in Asia, if they did not originate there), related in 85-87. A more readable and more familiar, but perhaps less representative specimen is the story of the Widow of Ephesus (111-112), on which see the Supplementary Note.

3. It is obvious that such stories of erotic experiences, particularly

* Cf. also Introd. 7.

of a sort frowned upon by a stricter society, treated realistically and wittily told, have much in common with the *Satiricon.* Some critics have regarded the *Satiricon* as an enlarged Milesian Tale, but to enlarge a brief anecdote into a three-volume novel is to take away its original character completely. A similar problem, outside the present field of inquiry, is the relation of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius to the Milesian Tale, regarding which the same theory has been advanced. It is safe to say that Petronius was familiar with examples of this form of literature, and that, even if he did not borrow the technique and the spirit, he approached his narrative of adventure in something of the same way in which the writer of Milesian Tales approached his single experience (cf. the assumed genealogy of the *Satiricon* in Introd. 7 note).

THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF PETRONIUS *

4. References to Petronius in ancient literature are few, and these do not reveal any considerable influence on later writers. Martial may be more indebted to him than we realize, but no complete study of the resemblances—they may be nothing more—has been made, and certainty is hard to attain in such a matter. The few testimonia that have been collected are mainly quotations by grammarians. Though Petronius had introduced a new quality into literature with his vivid realistic prose and his portrayal of a new class of characters, and had possibly brought into existence a new literary form, he found few imitators, and neither in satire nor in romance did writers consciously follow his lead. This is no great misfortune: we know few Romans in the centuries after Petronius who possessed his combination of gifts, and for any but a Petronius to attempt a Satiricon might have evil consequences. Even Apuleius, the author most like Petronius, reveals little or no direct indebtedness to him in either subject or style.

5. During the middle ages, Petronius was little known outside of France. John of Salisbury is the only writer who knew the *Cena* as well as other portions of the text, and his acquaintance with Petronius may have been formed at Fleury. Giraldus Cambrensis quotes Petronius once, but this passage (82:5) is found also in Fulgentius, and may have been quoted from that source rather than from Petronius himself. The florilegia contain a fair number of quotations from Petronius, and the other references have been collected by Collignon, Bücheler, and Manitius. These reveal some knowledge of Petronius, but less certainly his literary influence.

6. While the evidence of the influence of Petronius in the spread of the story of the Widow of Ephesus is strong, there is little sure testimony to any influence on the larger scale. The picaresque novel seems to offer the closest resemblance to the *Satiricon,* and to it we should look first for signs of indebtedness to Petronius. Chandler however assures us (*Romances of Roguery,* pt. 1, 3-4) that the Spanish picaresque is an independent development. But while an influence is difficult to prove, it is still more difficult to doubt. There seems to be at least one case of similarity, though similarity alone will not prove borrowing. In LeSage's *Gil Blas* (Vol. II, Bk. I, ch. 13, Smollett's translation), Nunez

* Cf. also Introd. 8.

debates with Gil Blas on the true and proper qualities of style. Nunez is a sort of reincarnated Lucan, though exaggerated into burlesque. Simplicity and naturalness are to him qualities to be avoided, and the darkness of a work is its grandeur. Gil Blas on the other hand is thoroughly conservative and classic, just as is his prototype Encolpius. This may not and probably does not prove that LeSage knew or borrowed from Petronius, but it does indicate a kinship of feeling that perhaps goes deeper than verbal imitation. The spirit of Petronius is, allowing for the changes attendant on social conditions, that of the Spanish picaresque and the corresponding types in other countries. As Lord Ernle remarks (p. 56): "It is difficult to suppose that such a masterpiece of realistic art did not affect the movement which culminated in Defoe and the subsequent course of its development. No proof of such an influence is forthcoming. But in the twentieth century there is direct evidence of its power from at least three eminent writers of widely varying minds and different nationalities. Nietzsche, Merejkowski and Anatole France have acknowledged the influence of Petronius." Sienkiewicz too realized the drama that the personality and career of Petronius contained, and made him the hero of *Quo Vadis*. Dean Farrar has portrayed him in his *Darkness and Dawn*.

7. The present generation feels strongly the appeal of Petronius. Whether this is due to the influence of Anatole France and his school or to other causes is debatable, but the fact is sure. Heseltine's translation in the Loeb series has gone through its third printing, Mitchell's through its second. In 1902 there was published in Paris a translation attributed to Sebastian Melmoth, the name which Oscar Wilde assumed in France. It is however impossible to determine Wilde's connection with it, and in these days of handbooks even acknowledged quotations mean little. The translation of Firebaugh (1922) has been adapted to the purposes of the Black and Gold Library (1927), and the publishers of the Abbey Classics have reissued Burnaby's translation of 1694. Nor have other peoples fallen behind. To mention only a few recent translations, the *Satiricon* or the *Cena* alone has been translated into Italian by Fossataro in 1912, into French by Ernout in 1922 and Thomas in 1923, and into German by Gurlitt in 1923. Still farther to the east, the studies of Révay, Suess, and others have maintained and developed interest.

8. While it is inaccurate to describe this as a literary influence, it is said that the prototype of the parrots found greeting patrons in the lobbies of moving picture houses is the *pica varia* of Trimalchio (28:9).

THE SATIRICON AND SATIRE *

9. Many students of Petronius have regarded the *Satiricon* as a satire or perhaps as a satirical romance, and hence have tried to align it with the works of other Roman satirists. One reason for this is the title; a second, its prose-poetic form; a third, the conscious or unconscious identification of its characters with real personages; a fourth, the attitude of mind which Petronius reveals; a fifth, the absence of clearcut distinctions separating satire, parody, and burlesque. I shall discuss these five reasons in order.

* Cf. also Introd. 10.

10. Until the appearance of Bücheler's first edition, editors had generally used the title *Satyricon,* for which there were two arguments. The first was inference from the title in Scaliger's MS., L, which reads *Petronii Arbitri Afranii Satyrici Liber* though other editors did not follow Scaliger in adopting the name Afranius. An alternative title in P reads *Petronii arbitri affranii Satirici liber,* and from this possibly Scaliger took the title for his MS. *Satyricus* is here clearly a descriptive adjective applied to the author, and not a name given to the book, but such a transfer would not be difficult. The second argument was that sixteenth century editors probably had access to MSS. in which the title *Satiricon* (or *Saty-*) was used. The title in the first hand in B reads *Petronii Arbitri Satiricon,* and while we can not prove that any sixteenth century editor used B, we know that Pithoeus had either B or some very similar MS., and the presence of this title in one suggests that others might have it too. At any rate, the oldest and best MS. tradition has *Satiricon* as the title, and sixteenth cenury scholars either deduced *Satyricon* from the adjective *Satyricus* or derived it directly from some MS.

11. The evidence points then, though not with certainty, toward *Satiricon* as the title, and Petronius himself may have given his work this name, for reasons that will be considered below. But the original title in P (the other quoted above seems not to be in the first hand) is *Petronii arbitri satirarum liber,* and MSS. of group X (containing only the *Bellum Civile*) describe that poem as a *Satira* and the author as *Satyricus* as well. Apparently it is mainly on the authority of P that Bücheler adopted the title *Satirae,* though he might have strengthened his position by reference to these other MSS. But P is a contaminated MS: belonging to the valuable group BPR, it shares many readings with the inferior MSS. of group Z, and serves as a link between its own group and groups X and Z. In addition to the errors thus introduced, P has many vagaries of his own. The title in R uses the descriptive *Satiricus,* but in general the MSS. differ so greatly in their titles that few inferences as to relationships can be drawn. (Of them all, B is the one most likely to have preserved an old reading in a particular passage.) Were it not for certain other bits of evidence we could say that the use of *Satira* in P and the group X MSS. was of common origin and of comparatively recent date (not however later than the date of P—eleventh or twelfth century). Pierre Daniel quotes a glossary which used the title *Satyrae,* and a Virgilian scholiast cites the *satyria,* on obvious corruption of *satira* (for both cf. Bücheler[1], p. vi). We know too little of the date or origin of these bits of evidence to assess their critical value, but they can hardly outweigh the evidence of B. There is then in the MSS. little or no reason to designate Petronius' work by the term *Satirae.*

12. The word *Satiricon* is presumably the genitive plural of the Greek neuter adjective, and Σατυρικῶν is as a title similar to such words as Κυπριακά which are popular among Greek writers of romance. Originally it meant "satyr-like" and no connection, etymological or otherwise, with Latin *satira* existed.* Such a characterization would

* Cf. Perry, pp. 33-34, whose conclusion resembles this, though based, so far as the MSS. are concerned, on incomplete evidence.

be suitable for a work whose patron was Priapus; it resembled the titles used (or to be used later) by writers of romance; the form was sufficiently rare in Latin to attract attention and excite wonder as to its meaning; and if, as I have suggested before, Petronius were consciously creating a new literary genre, or materially modifying one already existing, he might easily have chosen a title whose indefiniteness would both conceal and reveal his innovations.

13. But at some time an attempt was made to connect Latin satire with the Greek satyr-drama. (The history and origin of the Latin satire have been discussed at such length in recent years that treatment is unnecessary here, and bibliographical data are superfluous.) The immediate effect upon the interpretation of Petronius may be illustrated by reference to M (Monac. 23713, saec. 15). This MS., which belongs to group X, calls the poem a *Satira,* and a marginal note, which I believe to be by the first hand, traces the origin of satire to the satyr-drama. The actual age of this material is doubtful, and such a note might have been originally written at any time after the late imperial period, and possibly earlier (cf. Perry, p. 34 n.1). Possibly the appearance of *Satirae* as a title in our MSS. is due to this identification of satire and satyr-drama. Possibly Petronius himself, by his choice of this title, by giving his work its character and by imparting to it some of the qualities which are common to it with satire, is partly responsible for this identification.

14. The evidence then indicates that the title we should give the work is *Satiricon* (*liber*) or perhaps *Satirica,* though tradition, custom and convenience may justify *Satiricon* alone. Such a title brings the novel into line with other romances where it belongs, and, through the connection between satire and satyr-drama (which is possibly as early as Petronius), into line with satire.

15. The second reason for regarding the *Satiricon* as a satire is its form. Petronius intermingles prose and verse, in the manner of the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca and the *Menippean Satires* of Varro. Lack of material makes it unprofitable to try to compare the *Satiricon* with earlier specimens of this type, but in external form there is a clear resemblance between the *Satiricon* and this variety of satire. Seneca's satire is too personal and direct and too much in the spirit of Lucilius to encourage comparison with the *Satiricon.* We have only fragments of Varro, and a comparison is difficult, but it seems clear that mingled with the moral earnestness that we associate with satire there is a less serious attitude that at times approaches burlesque. Without going too deeply into the interpretation—always uncertain—of isolated sentences, we may note such titles as Aiax Stramenticius, Pseudaeneas, Pseudulus Apollo. To proceed further and attempt to prove individual fragments to be burlesque would be to assume more knowledge of their context than we possess, and greater certainty as to the precise significance of "burlesque." The frequent resemblances of vocabulary and style between Petronius and Varro suggest as well a similarity of tone and spirit.

16. A visible connecting link between the *Satiricon* and some of Varro's satires and with the whole tradition of satire from Lucilius to Juvenal is the importance of the banquet in the *Satiricon.** We can not

* Cf. Shero, *C.P.* 18.126-143; Révay, *C.P.* 17.202-212.

now judge what the relative prominence of the *Cena* in the original *Satiricon* was: certainly it was much less than it is to-day, but banquet scenes seem to have been a commonplace of satire, and Petronius may have introduced the *Cena* partly to establish a connection between his romance and satire. Possibly Varro did the same thing, though he needed explicit details less than did Petronius to keep his readers in the desired frame of mind.

17. Third, scholars have speculated at length as to what relation, if any, there is between the *Satiricon* and the document sent to Nero just before Petronius' death. There is no real ground for assuming any connection of any kind between them, yet the existence of the two has tempted commentators to identify the characters in the novel with various real personages. This temptation has been made greater by the existence of certain superficial similarities. If such identifications were possible (the variety of opinions reminds one of the disagreements of Separatists about the interpolations in Homer), we could hardly doubt that Petronius had a satirical intent in mind; since such efforts have regularly been fruitless, no conclusions can be drawn from them.

18. Petronius' attitude toward his characters and toward life is the fourth reason for thinking of his novel as a satire. His most distinctive quality is to refuse to take life seriously or to permit others to do so more than momentarily. He passes direct from the absurd scene in which Eumolpus is rescued after the shipwreck (115:5) to the tragedy of the death and burial of Lichas (115:6-20); he says of the Civil War, "cum haec Eumolpus ingenti volubilitate verborum effudisset" (124:2); Encolpius' attempt at suicide is followed by Giton's and Encolpius' second effort to kill themselves with a practice razor (94:8-15). If Tacitus can be trusted, he gave even on his deathbed the same appearance of refusing to be impressed by the serious aspects of life. Such a man is no Juvenal, compelled to write by his *indignatio*. While he has the light touch of Horace, he lacks that poet's didactic purpose. Horace might adopt as his principle *ridentem dicere verum*, but Petronius would reject for himself the second term. To say that Petronius wrote the *Satiricon* to amuse is perhaps to impute to him too definite a purpose. The persons, incidents and situations that he describes are in themselves amusing, and Petronius presents them as they are, but his responsibility ends with having done so. He has no obligation to compel or induce us to derive amusement from what he writes. He is neither Martial nor the editor of *Life*. Under these conditions, he can not be expected to take the world that he depicts seriously as the true satirist would.* While he might make fun of characters and incidents, to make fun of the whole would again be to become too serious and to have too real a purpose. Somewhere on the scale lies parody, but to say even that Petronius wrote a parody, conscious and deliberate, is to demand a good deal of him. Yet if we must choose a word, parody fits better than any other the attitude of mind of Petronius.

19. The final reason why the *Satiricon* has been thought a satire is that we do not know just what "satire" means nor where lie the boundaries that separate it from parody and burlesque. It may at least

* Lord Ernle (p. 43) remarks that Petronius is too accurate an observer, too artistic and too humorous to be a real satirist.

be said that they are all non-serious and that Petronius is non-serious too. In consequence, while Petronius may sometimes write as a satirist writes, he can hardly be a satirist himself.

20. Ancient opinion, so far as any was expressed, was divided. The grammarians quote him without indicating the category in which they place him; Lydus (*de magis.* 1:41) mentions him with Juvenal as a satirist; Macrobius (*in somn. Scip.* 1:2.8) describes him as a writer of "argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta," coupling his name with that of Apuleius.

21. Perhaps satire was to the Romans only observation of life without necessarily involving reflection on life.* Petronius wrote a romance in which life was portrayed non-seriously. This was different from the usual manner of romance, regardless of the state to which romance had developed, but it was not a manifest parody in the Lucianic sense. It was subtler than that, less obvious, more of a blend of elements. Varro is more of a satirist, though he too refuses to take life always at face value. In this sense Petronius wrote a satire; the *Satiricon* has one of the external forms of satire, though Petronius might have used the form even if Menippus and Varro had never lived; its treatment of life as it is and not as it might be is in the manner of satire. But the satirical intent is wanting. Instead of it we have a playful, humorous, objective, detached presentation of amusing characters and incidents. The *Satiricon* has the structure and general character of romance, something of the form and somewhat less of the manner of satire, and a spirit which can only be called Petronian.

THE PLACE AND DATE OF THE CENA †

22. Petronius' realism has seemed to demand an attempt to localize the action of his romance, and the attempt to do this succeeds with the last episodes (124ff.), the scene of which Petronius tells us is Crotona. We therefore look for some similar information with regard to the earlier parts of the story. Possibly on account of losses sustained near the beginning of the *Cena,* we are not supplied with the information, but more probably the author prefers that the place be thought of as typical rather than actual.

23. The place in or near which the banquet is held is a Greek town (81:3: a lacuna separates this passage from the *Cena* itself, and the companions may have moved in the meantime; this fact seems not to have been noticed by students of the question) near the sea (77:5; 81:1). It had the status of *colonia* (44:12) and, unless, as is probable, the term is inexactly used, it had a praetor (65:4) as well as aediles (44:13). It seems to have been fairly close to Baiae (53:10) and Capua (62:1). Cumae alone seems to have a praetor at this time, but in 48:8 Trimalchio speaks of having seen the Sibyl at Cumae. (Some editors bracket *Cumis* on the assumption that the praetorship is proof that Cumae is the scene; Trimalchio's house may have been on the outskirts of the town.) The scene is not Pompeii, for Trimalchio owns a garden there which he has never seen (53:5). The same kind of argument may

* Cf. Mendell, *C.P.* 12.158-172; 15.138-157.

† Cf. also Introd. 12.

be used for every possible definite place, and when we consider the vagueness of the indications of time we are inclined to conclude that we can not attain to greater exactness than to say that the banquet takes place somewhere near the bay of Naples.

24. Assuming that the place is Cumae, which was colonized between 42 and 26 B.C., we should have a date at the beginning of Augustus' reign, but this is clearly too early for us to find freedmen in such important positions in society as these men hold, and the *seviri* were not established until 12 B.C. Another indication of an early date is, apparently, the fact that Trimalchio serves Opimian wine one hundred years old (34:6). Opimius was consul in 121 B.C., which would make the date 21 B.C., but this similarly is too early, and when we recall that any good wine was likely to be called Opimian the evidence loses its value. The episode of the malleable glass belongs to the time of Tiberius (51; cf. Isid. 16:16.6), but Tiberius' time is excluded by the fact that that emperor was never *pater patriae* (60:7). Apelles (64:4) lived in the time of Caligula; Menecrates (73:3) in the time of Nero, while the criticism of Lucan in 118 could have had any point only in the time of Nero. Trimalchio had once belonged to the great Maecenas (died 8 B.C.) (71:12), and he has been promised thirty more years of life (77:2). Since the last known Maecenatianus was living in Vespasian's time, such a life-expectancy was not utterly unreasonable if we assume a dramatic date somewhere in the period between Caligula and Nero. Petronius' apparent intention of offering contradictory evidence as to place and time would indicate that he did not wish to be too definite and precise. The social background which we must assume was that of this period rather than that on an earlier time, and we need not look for a more exact dating than this.

25. The time of year when the banquet occurs is equally vague. Ripe olives are served (31:9); the guests complain of poor harvests (44:2; 46:2) and cold weather (41:11; 42:2); the newspaper of the estate relates events of June (53:2); the master's engagement book, posted at the door of the dining-room, reminds him that he dines out on the last two days of the year (30:3). By the exercise of sufficient ingenuity a sort of reconciliation of these conflicting facts may be reached, but the need of ingenuity is reason enough to doubt the correctness of the results attained. This date too is purposely vague.

THE REALISM OF PETRONIUS *

26. An adequate definition of realism does not to my knowledge exist, nor do we have a clear distinction between realism and naturalism. It is unfortunate in many ways and for many reasons that writers whom we regard as realists should have felt themselves compelled to deal with the lower strata of society and with the unpleasant aspects of existence. One consequence of this is the assumption that realism only exists when the subject matter with which the writer deals is depressing or worse, and that pessimism rather than optimism is its natural associate. Theoretically, the experiences of a happy and prosperous society which lives conformably to the dictates of a conventional morality could be de-

* Cf. also Introd. 13.

picted realistically, but for some reason it is rarely done. Perhaps the cynicism which often accompanies modern realism will reply that such a society knows nothing of the realities.

27. It seems that the same rule holds true of ancient realism. The transition from an idealistic to a realistic treatment may have accompanied such a change in subject matter as that, e.g., made in Greek tragedy by Euripides, where it was inevitable that the human frailties of the characters should cause or emphasize their tragedies. Thus the purely human passion of a Phaedra is quite different from the divine revolt of a Prometheus. Realism possibly was never able to throw off this inherited tendency, imparted to it unintentionally.

28. In the general and obvious sense of the term as used today, realism may have appeared first in the mime. Its scenes were laid among the lower classes of society, which themselves dealt with life realistically and not idealistically, from the conditions under which they lived. If we may judge from what we know of the Milesian Tales, they too were realistic, and the direct suggestion of realistic treatment of a romance may have come to Petronius from either or both of these sources.

29. Petronius' realism seems to consist first in his effort to represent life as it was lived by the characters whom he chose to represent, without disguise, apology or explanation.* Had he chosen other characters, he would have presented other phases and incidents of life but probably with equal fidelity to the facts. We need not of course believe that Petronius had a living model or several living models for any character, or that any actual event which he describes took place before his eyes. Perhaps the test of such realism is its consistency. In that case, we should ask ourselves whether, e.g., Encolpius, given the qualities with which Petronius endows him, would inevitably have acted as he did in any situation, as at the entrance of Habinnas. I think that our answer would be uniformly in the affirmative. One possible exception—the more interesting for that reason—is the artistic theory which Encolpius and others hold. We may well ask ourselves whether it is consistent that men like them should be interested in art and literature at all, and whether, assuming that they were, they should hold such respectable ideals before themselves and others. We may not number among our acquaintances reincarnations of Encolpius and Eumolpus, but we can find in the picaresque literature of every country numerous parallels, and if these seem of uncertain value as confirmation of the consistency of Petronius, we may think of such historical personages as Villon and Cellini, whose careers were not totally different and whose theories were not unlike those of Encolpius.

30. If Petronius is a successful realist, the technique by which he secures his literary effects has some interest. He possesses a gift for vivid visualization by simple methods: consult, e.g., the scene (67:4-5) in which Fortunata comes to the banquet at the request of Habinnas. Five lines contain a picture of the physical and spiritual Fortunata as adequate as a page of less skilful description could have given. Details of characterization are supplied too in various places: Hermeros (37:2-5), Trimalchio (67:2) supply part of the background against which For-

* Cf. Thomas, *Le Réalisme,* passim. The propriety of calling Petronius a realist has been questioned by Mendell, *C.P.* 12.158-172.

tunata is projected, and the missing items are furnished with great definiteness by Trimalchio and by Fortunata herself in the quarrel which follows (74:9-77:7). Trollope might have devoted an early chapter to recounting the events of Fortunata's life and to estimating her character; Petronius, more economically, more subtly, creates a more vivid picture of her by introducing casually and incidentally, as occasion offers, his visualizing and characterizing touches.

31. In the story of the werwolf Petronius has put into the mouth of Niceros a tale which meets every requirement of the short story, as the art of recounting them is taught to-day. The telling of this story is Niceros' one accomplishment as the experience is the ever-remembered climax of his career. Frequent repetition has made him letter-perfect, though his start is poor. His Latin is defective in almost every particular and his thinking reveals the undisciplined mind. Yet experience (or Petronius) has given his story, not the discursiveness one expects from such a man, but a condensation in which every word is effective and necessary. The realistic treatment of a ghost story seems a paradox, and Petronius' success is a triumph of realism.

32. One of the most strikingly realistic episodes is the story of Encolpius' encounter with the sacred geese (136:4ff.). From the appearance of the creatures, seeking their accustomed food, through the song of victory into which Encolpius breaks and the lamentations of Oenothea to the promise of Encolpius to replace the goose with an ostrich, we have a series of pictures unsurpassed for dramatic quality. Petronius seems to have made a special effort to find suggestive words: *alius vincula . . . resolvit* (what other Roman would have said this?); *serrato morsu; pugnacissimum animal elidere; ut putares iterum anseres limen intrasse*. This skilful management of words is one of the distinctions of Petronius, and the passage is not only unusual in Latin literature but a revelation of Petronius' mind and literary power.

THE LITERARY THEORY OF PETRONIUS *

33. In three passages, clearly, and in a possible fourth, Petronius has expressed opinions on literature and art. In general, Petronius is objective: his characters speak their own thoughts and act out their own decisions without constraint from their author. In other words, Petronius seems to belong with those later writers who maintain that when once their characters have been brought into existence the authors themselves are merely recorders. Encolpius, Agamemnon, and Eumolpus are men of different training, antecedents, and manners of life. Their literary views are so similar that we wonder whether in this respect Petronius has not offended against his own law and used them as mouthpieces for his own theories. Our feeling that this is true is strengthened when Petronius injects into the discussion the personal element in his criticism of Lucan. His characters could not have been as interested in this controversy as Petronius, and the introduction of Lucan risks a slight anachronism. Having concluded by this process that these characters express Petronius' theories of art, it becomes easy, by circular

* Cf. also Introd. 14, 18.

reasoning, it is true, to believe that the fourth passage to which I referred is a statement of Petronius' literary creed. Our assurance becomes stronger when we find that his practice corresponds to the theory we thus extract from his work. That Petronius had critical faculties we may safely infer from his compact and pregnant phrase *Horatii curiosa felicitas*. Landor thought the phrase meaningless and absurd, but most critics have found it quite the opposite.

34. The first five chapters of the *Satiricon* contain a discussion of the decline of oratory. The first two chapters contain Encolpius' attack, the next three Agamemnon's reply and his constructive theory, which he puts in the form of a *schedium Lucilianae humilitatis*. A side glance which Encolpius takes at painting points the way to the resumption of the discussion of the graphic arts from a similar standpoint in 88. Finally, in 118, Eumolpus discusses at some length the nature of epic poetry, with some explicit criticism of a poem which can be identified with nothing but Lucan's *Pharsalia*. In all these passages the point of view maintained is practically that of Atticism in an earlier period, while his technical vocabulary is from the same source (cf. Sage, *Atticism*). It implies hard work, wide and judicious reading, not only to store the mind with material but also to provide models for imitation during the training period, and a preference for the simple and natural. Simplicity, naturalness, directness are the qualities most conspicuous in Petronius' style. The authors whom he most frequently imitated were Horace and Virgil (cf. Collignon, *Étude*).

35. The corollaries of Atticism in the early Empire were conservatism and classicism (cf. Norden). With this in mind, we can not doubt that he attacks, through Eumolpus, the *Pharsalia* of Lucan in 118 (cf. Mössler, *de Petr. poem. de b.c.*). Lucan was first an innovator, who rejected the Virgilian mythological epic, but more than that, he was unprepared for the composition of epic poetry and he had a false theory of epic poetry. For all these causes, and perhaps for a purely external reason, that an attack would please the jealous Nero, Petronius included in his romance the criticism of Lucan and the poem which follows it.

36. The character and purpose of the poem have been much discussed. It has been regarded as a parody of Lucan (cf., e.g., Westerburg), as an imitation of Lucan (cf. Souriau, Hosius), as a serious criticism of Lucan (cf., e.g., Mössler) and a demonstration of how an epic poem on an historical subject should be treated (cf. Klebs), though his theory is that such a theme is improper for epic (cf. Sage, *Atticism*), as a satire on Eumolpus (cf. Thomas), or as a mixture of various items in this list (cf. Heitland, Ribbeck, Henderson, Dill, Boissier). The judgments of critics on the literary value of the poem are equally unlike. To one, it is merely a rather unhappy scholastic imitation (cf. Collignon); to another, it is too good for a parody (cf. Henderson); a third opinion finds it an unsuccessful display of literary conservatism and a futile attempt to make worn-out machinery work one more time (cf. Dill, Boissier); a fourth believes that it might have been a great poem if it had been finished (Friedländer in *Jahresber.* 47).

37. I suspect that the non-serious attitude of Petronius, of which I have spoken in a previous note, estops us from attributing to Petronius any very definite motive. He was practically compelled, after introducing his criticism of Lucan, to add the poem, for whatever motive it

was given its character. We might feel more certain if we knew that we had the complete poem as Petronius wrote it. That it contains imitation of Lucan seems certain (cf. Baldwin, Heitland, and my notes, passim), and also it seems probable that some of these imitations are so exaggerated that they almost amount to parody, though this is less easily demonstrated, since we know too little of what parody really is. But the criticisms of 118 are too serious to permit us to assume parody as the sole or even the main purpose. On the other hand, sustained seriousness is inconsistent with Petronius' philosophy. It is no more surprising that Petronius should criticize and parody in the same breath than that Aristophanes should criticize and ridicule Euripides simultaneously in the Frogs (cf. Sage, *Atticism*). The literary quality of the poem must be judged, in my opinion, from the same standpoint. We must remember too that Petronius was primarily a writer of prose and not of verse. The elder Seneca reminds us that neither Cicero nor Virgil was successful in the other's medium. Under these conditions we can say, I think, that the poem is surprisingly good. It contains passages of genuine poetic power, individual lines that echo in the memory like the best verses of Lucan, strained and obscure sentences, and some rather amateurish prosody.

38. It remains that we consider the little poem found in 132:15. Detached as it is from its original context, it is hazardous to draw conclusions from it, but it seems to accord so well with Petronius' opinions, as we deduce them from other evidence, that it is tempting to take it as Petronius' philosophy of life and art. It contains the essence of Atticism, of realism, and of the severance of art from morality (cf. Sage, *Atticism;* Collignon).*

THE TROIAE HALOSIS AND NERO †

39. The question of Petronius and Lucan is simple compared to the problem of the source and character of the other little epic found in the *Satiricon* (89). This poem, like the *Bellum Civile,* is put into the mouth of Eumolpus, and is apparently inspired by a painting representing some scene from the destruction of Troy. The particular phase (if not the theme of the whole composition) which Eumolpus picks out to describe is the death of Laocoon and his sons. We are at once reminded of the sculptured group and of the similar passage in the second book of the *Aeneid.* From these and similar materials Lessing derived most of the criteria of imitation and its detection which he embodied in his essay "Laocoon" (cf. especially p. 38, n.2 ed. Blümner).

40. When we consider the admiration that Petronius felt for Virgil, we find it impossible to assume that Petronius was here parodying

* The sketchy documentation of this Note is designed simply to point out to the student just beginning the investigation of this problem the way to the extensive literature. The references will be found more fully stated in the Bibliography, and will themselves furnish additional bibliographical clues.

† Cf. also Introd. 17.

the older poet or trying to improve upon his work. The relation of this poem to the *Aeneid* is therefore quite different from the relation of the *Bellum Civile* to the *Pharsalia*. Petronius has made this clear by using a different meter. Lessing points out indications of imitation trying to conceal itself. Thus, e.g., Petronius stresses the sound made by the snakes as they cross the water, Virgil their size. As is natural in imitation, the great has become the monstrous, and exaggeration has become the outstanding characteristic of the poem. As literature, it seems inferior to the *Bellum Civile,* and resembles more nearly the other poetry of Eumolpus, of which Petronius holds no very high opinion. Perhaps this is his most pretentious device for characterizing Eumolpus and nothing more (cf. Collignon and last footnote to the preceding Note).

41. Lack of material prevents us from considering three other possibilities. The suggestion has been made that the poem parodies a lost Iliacon of Lucan (Stat. *Silv.* 2:7.54-55) or some unnamed work of Seneca. We know too little of these to theorize. Petronius derived from some source still unknown the inscription on the horse (but cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 108), and we do not know what other materials he used. The third possibility is that the poem is a parody of Nero. It is known that Nero wrote a poem on the fall of Troy, and tradition says that he recited it as he watched the burning of Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 15:39; Suet. *Nero* 38; Dio Cass. 62:18). The few fragments that we have are insufficient to permit a judgment on the poem or Petronius' relation to it, nor do we know enough to express an opinion as to the emperor's poetic powers. We may however speculate on the attitude Petronius was likely to take toward Nero.

42. Petronius' position as arbiter elegantiae at Nero's court is described by Tacitus. While he had no official status, he exerted a large influence, by reason of Nero's interest in art and the artistic, and his judgment was such that Nero instinctively deferred to it. But such a position, with such an emperor as Nero, was uncertain. Nero's ego seems to have suffered constant expansion until it reached its climax with his "qualis artifex pereo." Disdainful of the pretentiousness of Nero's art, Petronius must have found it increasingly hard to conceal his real opinions, and Tigellinus was able to undermine his position.

43. We may believe that during the period of Petronius' influence over Nero he wrote the *Satiricon* for an appreciative audience. That Nero could recognize himself, or that others could recognize Nero, in Encolpius or Trimalchio or any other character in the *Satiricon* is hard to believe (cf. Cocchia, *Riv. di fil. class.* 25.353-428; Révay, *Riv. Indo-Greco Ital.* 7.29-31 with refs. to older literature; Mitchell, pp. xlvii-xlviii). Petronius could not depend too much on the lack of intelligence of the court, and a caricature could not be both safe and satisfying to Petronius' exacting taste. Nero's claim to artistic attainments was not wholly unjustified, and there was in him almost to the end something of the aristocrat. To him and men like him the behavior of Trimalchio and his like must have seemed a kind of imitation, so naïve as to be flattering. It would be natural that Petronius should employ, as the mood struck him, his talents to depict the tinsel splendors of freedman life, and his attendance on Nero gave him ample oppor-

tunity to witness scenes from low life of many kinds. His creative power did the rest. An incident here, a person there, gave him hints, and the ultimate result is the *Satiricon.*

THE BOOK DIVISION OF THE SATIRICON *

44. There are indications that we now possess wholly or in part Books XIV, XV, and XVI of the *Satiricon.* Fulgentius (*Myth.* 3:8), cites a passage from 20:7 as from Book XIV (cf. Bücheler,[1] frag. VII), and while the genuineness of the numeral has been questioned there is nothing intrinsically impossible about it. The doubt is caused by its disagreement with the subscriptions in A, which state that the sections contained in the O family of MSS. belong to Books XV and XVI. An item in a Fleury lexicon (quoted by Bücheler[1] on 89:1) assigns that passage to Book XV. With the exception of a passage in a letter of Poggio, a scholar of the fifteenth century, that he had received from Cologne a MS containing the fifteenth book of Petronius (*Epist.* 2:3 ed. Tonelli), we have no other evidence, and the statement of Poggio can not be considered in the same light as the other bits of information.

45. Assuming the genuineness and truthfulness of this evidence, except the indefinite remark of Poggio, we may conclude that the division between Books XIV and XV should be placed at 26:7, the beginning of the *Cena,* and the division between Books XV and XVI either at the end of 90 or at the end of 99. Some editors have regarded the *Cena* as a complete book, but this is impossible without excluding part of the evidence. This would imply that the MS brought to Poggio from Cologne was the *Cena,* but proof is lacking.

46. It is clear that we have only a small portion of the original *Satiricon,* but there is little information available as to the contents of the other books.

THE "SHORT CUT" TO PAINTING †

47. Encolpius concludes his remarks on the decline of oratory by noting that painting had suffered similarly "postquam Aegyptiorum audacia tam magnae artis compendiariam invenit." While it is hazardous for a layman to discuss so technical a question, it may be noted that the elder Pliny uses an equivalent phrase (*quasdam picturae compendiarias invenit*), and in various other sections furnishes some commentary. He says of Nicomachus (*N.H.* 35:109) "nec fuit alius in arte velocior." Of Nicomachus' pupil Philoxenus, he says (*N.H.* 35:110), "hic celeritatem praeceptoris secutus breviores etiamnum quasdam picturae compendiarias invenit." Pliny then thinks of speedy production as the result of the new device. Nicomachus' master Aristides was regarded by some as the inventor of the encaustic method of painting (Pliny *N.H.* 35:122), and another who used that process, Pausias, when criticized for slowness of execution, painted an entire picture of a boy

* Cf. also Introd. 24.

† Cf. 2.9 and note.

in one day (Pliny *N.H.* 35:124). Finally, we may note that Antiphilus of Alexandria was regarded as one of the pioneers of the *ars compendiaria* and was praised for his *facilitas* by Quintilian (12:10.6; Pliny *N.H.* 35:114. On all these points cf. the notes in Jex-Blake and Sellers, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art). But Antiphilus was credited with introducing a sort of impressionism into painting and this is generally regarded as the *compendiaria* mentioned by Pliny and Petronius. Miss Sellers has found certain pictures, of Egyptian origin, which seem to display this impressionistic tendency associated with the name of Antiphilus (op. cit., p. 238). If this be correct, additional point is given to Encolpius' praise of Apelles (83:2), whose rival Antiphilus was (Pliny *N.H.* 35:89 and Sellers' note). Antiphilus was also a worker in encaustic (Pliny *N.H.* 35:114), though we do not know that he combined impressionistic style with an encaustic process. We may therefore conclude either that Petronius meant this impressionism by *compendiaria* (cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen,* II. 769, etc., who inclines toward this but regards the problem as unsolved), or that he meant the encaustic process. While Petronius' language, in its context, suggests a process rather than a style, we may accept tentatively the opinion of experts in the history of art that Petronius is objecting to this impressionism, and one can understand his dissatisfaction with such a style when one recalls the temptation to slipshod workmanship which impressionism offers and Petronius' underlying theory of art in all its manifestations.

THE SEATING ARRANGEMENTS AT THE BANQUET *

48. In 34:5 Trimalchio explains that he has provided for the greater comfort of his guests by furnishing them with individual tables. That this did not necessarily mean individual couches, separated from one another by considerable distances, is shown by those passages in which more or less confidential conversations are held (e.g., 69:9). Yet there was a degree of unconventionality in the seating plan, though some of the traditional terms are used to describe particular places: cf. *locus primus,* 31:8; *in imo imus,* 38:7; *libertini loco,* 38:11; *praetorio loco,* 65:7.

49. Omitting Giton, who was there in the capacity of a slave and who therefore stood; Fortunata, who came late and who probably did not recline like the men; Habinnas and Scintilla, who arrive late, we have the names of fifteen members of the company including the host (a place was probably reserved for Habinnas; just how Scintilla was disposed of is not clear). If these were all the diners, the number is not a multiple of three, as usual, and there was also room for a considerable number of slaves who join the banqueters at Trimalchio's invitation in 70:11. One party included Encolpius, Ascyltos, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, though the last named is not heard from at the dinner. Encolpius sat near Agamemnon (69:9), with Ascyltos not far away. There were ten other guests who are mentioned by name, all presumably or certainly freedmen and friends of Trimalchio: Hermeros, Diogenes, Procu-

* Cf. 31.8 and note.

lus, Niceros, Phileros, Plocamus, Ganymedes, Seleucus, Dama, and Echion. Hermeros was placed next to Encolpius, but he does not associate Encolpius with Ascyltos and Giton in his quarrel with them, though he does involve Agamemnon. It seems therefore that no attempt was made here to group the banqueters by threes or nines in the proverbial fashion. The habit of guests of bringing their own friends to their feasts (cf. later Dumas' *Three Musketeers*), while convenient for economical people, must have disorganized many a seating plan. Despite the use of the technical terms for special seats mentioned, it seems fruitless to try to assign the guests to places more specifically than has been done, and there may have been more guests than are named.

ASTROLOGY *

50. The importance of astrology in Roman civilization, especially in and immediately before the time of Petronius, was very great and allusions in literature are common. Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* used a quantity of this material, and soon after his time Manilius wrote his *Astronomica*. At about the same time some at least of the epigrams (*carmina duodecim sapientium*) on the signs of the zodiac found their way into the collections which resulted in the *Anthologia Latina* (Riese,[2] 495-638). A century later Hyginus wrote his *Fabulae*, containing much astrological lore, as well as his *Poeticon Astronomicon*. The Alexandrians had been greatly interested in astrology as well as other semi-scientific subjects, and Aratus' *Phaenomena* was several times translated into or imitated in Latin. Later astronomy, from which astrology was not distinguished, was one of the seven liberal arts which made up the educational program. Caesar's reform of the calendar had directed attention to the scientific side of the subject, but it was astrology that struck the popular fancy. Religion had by this time lost its hold almost completely, and the belief in magic in various forms, including the control of the stars over destiny, was widespread among the classes to which philosophy did not appeal. A striking case of the rôle played by belief in supernatural power is the gradual building up of the conception of Virgil as a master of all knowledge, both what lies within and what lies without the range of ordinary men. For a very full commentary on 35 and 39, especially the latter, cf. DeVreese, *Petron 39 und die Astrologie* (Amsterdam, 1927).

RIDDLES †

51. Riddles formed part of the table-talk at banquets generally: cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 5:pref. 5. They seem also to have been an important part of ordinary conversation, especially in the time when the old sanctions and standards had broken down. The popularity of riddles is then psychologically akin to the popularity of astrology (see above). Such stories as that of the riddle of the Sphinx are of great antiquity in Greek, but in general such material belonged to popular rather than

* Cf. also 35, 39 and notes.
† Cf. also 58.8 and note.

formal literature. With the breaking down of the barriers which had separated the two, as with the emergence of romance into a recognized literary form, riddles assumed in literature a place comparable to their importance in popular thought. On the border line is the familiar story of Virgil, who alone could solve the riddle he propounded in his verses beginning "sic vos non vobis . . ." This ability was one factor in the growth of his reputation for possessing superhuman knowledge and power. In the romance of Apollonius of Tyre (sixth century A.D., in its present form, but from an earlier Greek original), both Apollonius and his daughter Tharsia have uncanny skill in guessing riddles, and as Hermeros challenges Ascyltos to a public match, so Tharsia offers to solve riddles submitted to her by the crowd. In medieval literature like the Story of the Seven Wise Men, elaborate riddles play a large part, and the use of such devices in later literature, as in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice,* is often a direct inheritance through the medieval from the ancient popular literature.

THE WIDOW OF EPHESUS *

52. The earliest occurrences of this story in Latin are in Petronius and Phaedrus (*App.* 13). It is found also in the Planudean *Vita Aesopi.* From sources like these, or perhaps from other sources, it was known in Europe before the Crusades, and in other slightly different versions was probably brought from the east by the Crusaders. It is found in the Dolopathos version of the story of the Seven Wise Men and in collections of fables like those of Romulus and of Marie de France. In the twelfth century John of Salisbury quoted it (*Polic.* 8:11) from Petronius, though in the fable literature it seems to have been transmitted without his name, and as a folk-tale. From such sources as these it spread to all the European literatures, John of Salisbury probably playing a large rôle in its diffusion. In later French literature, it appears in Etienne de Bourbon, St. Evremond, La Fontaine, and Voltaire among others. In England, Charleton published *The Ephesian Matron,* calling attention in his preface to the wide distribution of the story, and this was used by Harris in his essay on love in 1665. A curious contrast to this is the contemporary *Holy Dying* of Jeremy Taylor, who quotes the story in his chapter "On the care of the dead." The story is found also in Camerarius' *Fables* in Germany, in Italian popular literature and in stories by Campeggi and Astemio, and in a Russian fairy tale by Perm.

53. In the seventeenth century the Widow became a subject for drama. She appears about 1600 in an English play entitled *Woman's Tears,* while Brinon from about 1614 staged a tragicomedy *L'Éphèsienne.* Under such titles as *La Matrone d'Éphèse* comedies were presented by de Fatouville in 1682, de la Motte in 1702, a comic opera by Fuselier in 1714, a comedy with vaudeville by Radet in 1792. Bickerstaffe used it in 1769 for a comic Serenata from an unknown Italian source. Most recently the story has been the basis of a comedy by Verconsin in 1869 under the title *La Matrone d'Éphèse.* Daudet seems to have found

* Cf. also 111 and note.

the inspiration for one chapter of his "Immortel" in the story. Landor discussed the story in his Pentameron and suggested a far eastern origin for it.

54. The occurrence of the story in Chinese (Remusat, *Contes Chinois*) seems to confirm Landor's view, though with such popular tales as this it is impossible to establish absolute origins and lines of derivation. However, from its occurrence in the east, from its character as a Milesian Tale (see below), and from its presence in the popular fable literature, it may be concluded that like so many other similar stories its ultimate place of origin was in the east. Such stories seem to spring up spontaneously among different peoples, without any deliberate borrowing from one another, so that it is difficult to point to any single and certain place of origin.

55. Critics have generally recognized in the story a typical specimen of the Milesian Tale (see the Supplementary Note on this form). This by itself is almost enough reason to classify the story as a bit of eastern popular literature. The localization of the story at Ephesus is confirmatory.

56. The bibliography of this popular literature is extensive. On this particular story cf. especially Sedgwick, *Cena Trimalchionis;* Gaselee, *Bibliography of Petronius;* Collignon, *Pétrone en France;* Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins;* Bédier, *Les Fabliaux;* Grisebach, *Die Wanderung der Novelle von der treulosen Wittwe durch die Weltliteratur*[2].

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extra [redacted]
mote- beam f. [redacted] 12 billion

manum commodare = to lend a hand; to help

f. 84.

forest-ranger- Saltuarius

f. 102 ad arcessendos sensus longius e
for fetched ideas

Coleos habeas = to have the guts

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